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ABSTRACT

Using historical documents, this report traces the development of the system of primary education in Great Britain and the United States. During the period between 1810 and 1870, both Britain and the United States attempted to form an organization for primary schooling and achieved great progress in the institutionalization and growth of mass primary educational systems. This progress was stimulated, moreover, by more or less common pressures in both societies. Yet, at the same time, this period witnessed strikingly different outcomes in each country despite the evident similarities of traditions in culture, language, and law. Pressures for the development of schools, patterns of growth among different kinds of schools, sources of financial support, forms of governance and internal organization, and the stratification of clientele are examined. The influence of religious, political, economic, and social factors on school formation are discussed, and the social conflicts for which schools became the focus are analyzed. An extensive bibliography and reference list are provided. (DST)

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FINAL REPORT

Project Title: Institutional Determinants of Organizational Change in Primary Education in Nineteenth Century America and Britain

Principal Investigator: Neil J. Smelser, University of California, Berkeley

Sponsoring Agency: National Institute of Education*

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FINAL REPORT ABSTRACT

"Institutional Determinants of Organizational Change in Primary Education in Nineteenth Century America and Britain"

Neil J. Smelser
University of California, Berkeley

Through the use of historical documents, this project traced the development of the system of primary education in Britain and the United States. Pressures for the development of schools, patterns of growth among different kinds of schools, sources of financial support, forms of governance and internal organization, and the stratification of clientele were examined. The report traces the influence of religious, political, economic, and social factors on school formation and analyzes the social conflicts for which schools became the focus. This final report summarizes a line of argument which will be developed in greater detail in a book-length manuscript.

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The ensuring essay has been prepared and submitted as a summary of work that was completed during the course of the project. It is intended to give readers the general outlines of an analysis that will ultimately take more detailed and documented form, i.e., the form of a research monograph. In preparing this report the principal investigator has not included detailed footnote references, but has attempted to outline the main lines of argument and provide illustrations. The intent for the final project is to provide documentation and referencing of the customary scholarly sort. In the meantime, the readers are referred to Appendix A and Appendix B, which constitute two compilations of references on which the analysis has been built. In addition, readers wishing to have any points amplified by more detailed reference are invited to write to the principal investigator with requests: Professor Neil J. Smelser, Department of Sociology, Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

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GENERAL ORIENTATION

From the very beginning of this project, the main preoccupation of the principal investigator has been the following: During the period between 1810 and 1870 (give or take some years at each end in each country), both Britain and the United States took decisive strides in forming an organization of primary schooling, and achieved great progress in the institutionalization and growth of mass primary educational systems. (The filling out and universalization of these systems, it should be noted, was accomplished only several decades later in both countries.) This progress was stimulated, moreover, by more or less common pressures in both societies. Yet at the same time, this period witnessed strikingly different outcomes in each country, a problem that strikes the student of comparative education as an especially interesting one, given the evident similarities of tradition in culture, language, and law between the two countries. The guiding question informing the project throughout, then, has been: How to account for these differences?

A systematic response to this overarching question involves responses to five sub-questions:

- What were the common pressures in Britain and the United States to develop mass educational systems at the primary level?
- What were the main structural differences in educational outcome that characterized the two countries?
- What were the main institutional forces that directed the development of the systems in the two countries, and how did these institutional forces differ from one another?
- What was the process of social change by which these institutional forces combined and recombined to produce educational outcomes, and how did this process differ in each country?
- What were the main exigencies facing educational institutions once they became established in each country, and what were the differences in the ways in which each country dealt with these exigencies?

The responses to these questions constitute the main ingredients of a sociological analysis of the contours of growth of primary education, an analysis that is pitched at a fairly general level, but, by examining the unique combinations of the several kinds of forces identified for each country, the historical complexity of the educational experience for each country can also be recorded.

The conceptual framework for responding to these five questions has been more or less completely worked out during the course of the project, and a major portion of this report will be given over to specifying the outlines of that framework according to the five sub-questions posed.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Common Pressures for Developing a System of Primary Education

In principle the pressures to develop educational systems are as diverse as the functions they are envisaged to serve and the groups whose interests in those functions are involved. Thus, for example, pressures to reform the leading public schools (e.g., Eton, Harrow, Winchester) in mid-nineteenth-century Britain (which led to the formation of the Clarendon Commission in the 1850s) stemmed in part with the British military's concern with the poor performance of its officer class in the Crimean War. To take a more contemporary example, the pressures to reform the American systems of primary and secondary education in the 1950s and 1960s stemmed in large part from the dramatic successes of the Soviet Union in space (especially Sputnik).

In practice, however, pressures to change educational arrangements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain and America appeared to come from the following general sources:

(1) From specific cultural traditions that stressed literacy as part of a larger cultural program. In this case I refer mainly to certain religious groupings, Protestants in particular, whose own particular religious commitments (for example, direct communication with God through the medium of the Bible) call for a stress on literacy. The Scottish Presbyterians, the English New England Puritans, and the Lutherans and other German Protestants in America are examples of such groups. In

addition, it may be that the exclusion of some of these kinds of groups from the broader Establishment (particularly in England) led them to strive in areas like commerce, industry, and science, which called for greater emphasis on literacy. In any event, these kinds of cultural bases for dissatisfaction probably played a role in the early Scottish lead within Great Britain, the "Nonconformist zeal" in rising to the Sunday School movement in England and Wales in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the early stress on literacy in Puritan New England.

(2) From a concern with what might be called the "condition of the people." This broke down into three manifestations. The first, expressed mainly by persons and groups higher in the stratification system, was that those lower in the system were not behaving as they should according to their place in that system. One of the chronic sources of concern on the part of the British ruling classes throughout the nineteenth century was that those other than the "industrious and respectable" poor were not living up to such expectations. There was continuous concern with crime, vice, pauperism, drink, and idleness as threats both to the social order and to the public treasury. Reformers could cite "ignorance" as a cause, and point to education as a preventive measure. Similar preoccupations arose in the urban centers in the Eastern United States in the early nineteenth century and became part of the rhetoric of reformers.

The second, a closely related variant, involved situations when the lower orders behaved in such ways to constitute a political threat to the social and political order. Crime, drink, and idleness are social but not directly political threats; rioting, demonstrations, political petitioning and revolutionary activity are. Throughout the nineteenth century episodes of political protest and revolt on the part of the working classes stimulated interest in supporting and strengthening the educational system as a direct instrument of social control: the Peterloo massacres and general working-class discontent in the North of England in 1818-19; the reform agitation of 1831-32, and the and the agricultural riots in the southern part of England about the same time; the Chartist agitation of 1839; the Newport and Rebecca riots in Wales in 1839; the Plug Plot of 1842; the agitation for repeal of the Union in Ireland in 1843; and the great national distress in the economy in 1846-47. While this kind of political protest seldom characterized the American scene, the presence of working-people's organizations in the electorate, for example, occasionally constituted a basis for political parties' taking up advocacy for education (mainly as a measure to ensure social mobility).

The third variant can be referred to as a "cultural threat." The clearest historical example here is the mass in-migration of Irish Catholics and Southern and Eastern Europeans into the United States during the nineteenth century, and the perception of these groups as constituting a threat to the predominantly Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage of American society; education was seen as a principal means of assimilating or "Americanizing" these groups. Britain did not experience anything like that particular kind of cultural threat, but the migration of large numbers of Irish Catholics into the cities of Western Scotland, the North of England, and into London was a cause for concern among some British reformers in the nineteenth century.

(3) From a sense of economic, political, or cultural competition. One of the pressures on the British during the early and middle nineteenth century was a sense that the craftsmen of Belgium, France, and other countries were superior to those of Britain, and that the superiority

could be traced to better education (especially scientific and technical) in those countries. Toward the end of the century, the continuing accumulation of evidence of the superiority of the technological capacities of countries like Germany and America constituted more or less constant pressure, which was translated in many cases into a feeling that the educational establishment of Great Britain was seriously lacking. Within Britain, the competition between the various religious groupings constituted a basis for pressure to develop education as well. The formation of the National Society in 1811, for example, which was intended to encourage voluntary efforts to establish educational institutions through the Church of England, was a more or less direct response to the formation of the British and Foreign School Society (mainly but not exclusively Nonconformist) several years before. The great struggle between the Lancastrian and Bell monitorial systems was a part of this competition. (Incidentally, this competition between Church and Dissent succeeded in blocking various efforts on the part of the government to intervene in the educational sphere, when one group or another became apprehensive that such intervention would favor the other.) Internal competition among states and regions played a role in the United States as well, with states explicitly emulating one another's educational innovations; and the main impetus for the educational reform in a number of Southern states stemmed from a sense of cultural and political competition with the North, or with other Southern states. Cultural competition between Catholics and the "public" (mainly an amalgam of traditional Protestants, though professedly non-denominational) sectors also stimulated pressures to grow and consolidate in each sector.

While all these pressures to develop a primary educational system can indeed be considered as "common" between the two countries, it should be acknowledged that these different common elements waxed and waned in unique patterns in both countries, thus producing different kinds of pressures at different times, which in turn heightened the impetus to grow in certain directions and not others. The "economic competition" motif in Britain was especially pronounced in the 1860s and 1870s, in the wake of the Paris Exhibition, and again in the late nineteenth century, when the British metal, electrical, and chemical industries began falling behind the German; the "cultural threat" and "maintaining social order" motifs were especially salient in the United States in the 1840s, as masses of Irish Catholic immigrants poured into cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Despite these variations, the factors, with different weights at different times, constituted a steady pressure to develop an educational establishment at the primary level during this period in both countries.

Differences in Educational Outcome

In reviewing the broad educational scene in Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century, there are innumerable possibilities of things that demand explanation: the different role of educational reformers; the different curricula that characterized each country; the dominant educational philosophies in each; the place of teachers in the broader class system; and so on. Since the main focus of this project has been sociological in character, it was decided early to focus on a number of distinctively social-structural dimensions on which the two countries appeared to differ. At the outset of the study the main structural differences between the two countries that appeared to warrant explanation were the following:

(1) The sheer magnitude of growth of education, in terms of proportion of the population served. In the period under question it has been generally agreed that the development of primary education in the United States had relatively fewer and less formidable obstacles than it did in Britain, and as a result various measures such as enrollment figures, numbers of teachers, levels of financial expenditures, and the like, increased more rapidly in the former country. There are some indications that this was reflected in a more rapidly growing rate of literacy in the United States as well, though that subject has been hotly debated for some time, and is so fraught with both difficulties of conceptualization (of what does literacy consist?) and difficulties of measurement (how complete and reliable are the figures?) that this generalization must remain in dispute.

(2) The pattern of growth of different types of schools. The nineteenth century was characterized by a panoply of different varieties of schools in Britain--public schools, grammar schools, proprietary schools, private schools, Sunday schools, church day schools, and dame schools. Each of these types experienced their own vicissitudes. The American scene was somewhat simpler, dominated for the most part by secular schools established and supported by state governments, though private and religious schools competed to some degree in some regions.

(3) Sources and modes of financial support. The British mode of support was as variegated as the types of schools themselves. In the schools with state involvement--mainly church schools for the working

classes--a system of centralized matching-fund financial support evolved and consolidated in the period from the 1830s until the 1870s, and to some degree thereafter. In particular the British system resisted for decades any financial support for local schools from localized property taxes. The American pattern typically was less centralized, and arose from direct state and community financing from tax funds. In addition, American public education at the primary level was by and large free of charge (at least came to be so after an early mixed picture of fee-charging), whereas the standard pattern in Britain was to charge a modest fee for children, even from the very low income levels.

(4) The form of governance. With respect to private education, the trustee system in both countries evolved early. The locus of governance for public education in the U.S. remained for some time in the elective school boards of local communities with centralization originating at the state level and with weak controls in most cases. The federal government in the U.S. exercised virtually no administrative authority in primary education during the period of major expansion in the nineteenth century. Publicly-supported education in Britain was characterized by a system of local management with heavy church involvement. State involvement in school governance in Britain almost always emanated from the national rather than local governments.

(5) The stratification of clientele. This appears to be the most striking structural difference in the American and British systems as they evolved during the first decades of their "mass" expansion. British schools proliferated along several bases of social cleavage, especially in terms of social class, religion, and sex. The stratification of

education represented a microcosm of the stratification of British society into aristocratic (and to some degree upper-professional), middle, and working class (with some gradations within and between the last two as well). So deeply did the three-class system (aristocracy, middle, working) run in Victorian England that the possibility of a non-stratified educational system did not even occur to reformers and politicians. The ancient public schools were the preserve of the aristocracy and the very upper reaches of the middle classes; the ancient endowed schools and the new proprietary and private schools served the middle classes; and the emerging Sunday schools and voluntarily organized religious day schools served the working classes. At the same time, the schools were fragmented along religious lines as well--with the British and Foreign School Society spawning Nonconformist schools, and the National Society spawning Church of England schools; later on separate strands of schooling were established for Wesleyans, Catholics, and Jews, with the Scottish system ultimately becoming stratified mainly between the Established Presbyterian Church and the Free Church. And finally, a distinctive pattern for the National Society schools was to segregate the sexes, though this pattern broke down in small village and rural areas, and the Dissenters and Scots tended to mix the sexes more freely; but in all schools certain portions of the day were set aside for the separate education of boys and girls.

Fragmentation along class, religious, and sex lines was much less marked in the United States. A tradition of private versus public schools developed, particularly in the Northeast, but from the beginning public primary schools dominated the scene as the standard form. Furthermore, these tended to be community rather than class-based schools. Private religious schools also figured somewhat in the American pattern, particularly after the Catholics, rebuffed in their efforts to gain sizeable support from state funds, began to establish their own voluntary religious schools. With respect to sex, the American pattern tended to be co-educational, with both sexes mixed in the classroom--much to the astonishment of British observers of the American scene--though some differentiation of the curriculum along sex lines was also evident in American primary schools. Race was another source of fragmentation in the schools of both American North and South prior to the Civil War. However, in the North it meant that Blacks were segregated in separate schools or classrooms, while in the South it meant that Blacks were excluded from public education altogether.

(6) The development of roles and organizations ancillary to primary education. In Britain the development of this kind of organization tended to parallel the lines of fragmentation of the primary system itself. For example, state-supported religious schools for the working classes were subjected to government inspection, while schools at other class levels were not. Furthermore, inspectors of the working-class schools tended to be broken down along denominational lines, requiring approval of the relevant denominational bodies before being appointed as inspectors and being restricted to inspecting schools in their own denominational category. Teachers at working-class schools tended to be recruited from the working-classes, and training schools for teachers, such as they were, tended to be segmented along class, religious, and sex lines. Once again, while such ancillary institutions in the early American experience might

have reflected class, religious, and sexual divisions in society in terms of their respective recruitment, their formal constitution showed greater openness and less exclusivity with respect to these fundamental bases of social organization.

Elaboration of the Foregoing Model

So much for the main national differences in educational structure, as they were conceived from an early stage in the project. These were looked upon as the basic dependent variables, the outcomes of the generalized pressure to develop a primary education throughout the society in both countries, which constituted a principal independent variable (though, as I argued above, this tended to be more of a constant in both countries, despite vicissitudes of each of its several components over time). The main intellectual task, as envisaged then, was to look at the main institutional differences between the two countries as the intervening variables that mediated between the common pressures experienced by the two countries on the one hand, and the very striking differences in structural outcomes on the other. The main institutions that were identified early in the project were the fundamental differences in social classes between the two countries (traditionally hierarchical and paternalist pressing slowly toward democratic in Great Britian and radically egalitarian in the United States); economic (with Britain having moved far into the era of industrialization by the time the educational impetus gained great strength, with the United States remaining largely agricultural, but with significant strides toward industrialization and urbanization); and religion (with Britain continuing to support an established Church, however threatened by demands of Dissenters and others for religious equality, and with the United States having disestablished its churches and having moved into a system of denominational competition).

This model seemed a basically valid one at the time it was generated, and seemed to generate a very wide range of salient and central problems for empirical documentation and investigation. Many components of that model, as well as its basic structure, have survived throughout. As the research evolved, however, this simple model proved to be just that--too simple--and during the progress of the project, the approach was broadened, deepened, and I believe made more sophisticated by the discovery of three sets of limitations on the model and three corresponding intellectual reorientations, so that the fundamental direction of the project became significantly changed. The three reorientations were these:

- A recognition of the severe limitations involved by regarding the two countries as somewhat homogeneous entities (even though regional differences within each were recognized from the outset) that could be compared on a kind of global basis. It became apparent early that the analysis would be vastly more illuminating if the countries were disaggregated into regions; this proved to be a major methodological innovation.
- A recognition of the fact that the institutional divisions (class, economy, religion, etc.) as conceptualized were far too crude, accordingly several elaborations of the character of the nature of the "independent variables" were undertaken.
- A recognition that the model, as originally formulated, was much too static in character, and that a supplementary model of the social and political processes that linked sets of

independent, intervening, and dependent variables had to be developed; the main conceptual ingredients of that model have also been generated.

I will sketch the methodological reorientation now, and indicate the character of the other two in the several sections that follow.

As research on the countries progressed, it became apparent that the gross national differences in educational outcome that were posited appeared to be confirmed in the large by a great deal of qualitative-institutional and quantitative data. But it also became increasingly evident that to concentrate on these gross differences seemed to conceal as much as it revealed. In particular the principal investigator and his assistants came gradually to the conclusion that some of the intra-country variations in educational structure were as great if not greater than the inter-country differences. For example, great continuities were discovered between the Scottish system and that of New England (particularly Massachusetts), as both systems evolved into the eighteenth century. In particular, both systems were arranged on a strictly geographical or community basis (parish in Scotland and district in New England), and, more interestingly, schools in both tended to teach children from most if not all social classes in the community. Furthermore, until both Massachusetts and Scotland began to experience greater religious diversity that came wth schism and migrations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both were constructed on a single dominant church (Presbyterian for Scotland, Congregational in Massachusetts) if not a completely homogeneous population. To take another example, schooling in England in the first half of the nineteenth century seemed to resemble that of the states of the Old South (Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia in particular) than it did in Scotland, and those states resembled England more than they did New England. The most important resemblance between England and the American South was the stratification of the educational system by class (or perhaps better, caste). The upper and middle classes relied on private systems such as academies, proprietary schools, and private tutoring, and the poorer classes' education, such as it was, was organized on the basis of charity, with very minor public (state) responsibility. (The notable difference was that in one respect the South was more caste-like than England with respect to race, as blacks were almost completely excluded from any education, except for a certain amount of activity on the part of the black churches and a certain amount of self-teaching.)

Other regions provided variations on these themes. Both Wales and Ireland were semi-colonial in special ways, with the class and religious dimensions appearing to be most salient. Wales was a region that was undifferentiated from England politically, but in fact there were important divisions between them that were also reflected within Wales. In particular, the dominant land-owning and business classes were English, spoke English, and were Church of England by persuasion; the subordinated classes were Welsh, spoke Welsh, and were by and large Nonconformist by persuasion. The educational outcome was an anomalous one in that the wealthier classes were able to populate the Welsh countryside with National Society (Church of England) schools, but these turned out to be ill-attended because of class and religious antagonism toward them on the part of the Welsh poor, who tended to develop a kind of Welsh-speaking parallel through the Sunday schools and to a lesser extent through Nonconformist day schools. (The principal investigator was so taken by this case that he prepared a lengthy analysis of the Welsh situation, which has been submitted to the sponsoring agency.) Ireland was a Wales further removed, as it were, with formal political and religious hegemony by England and the Church of Ireland (Anglican), but with 90 percent of the population of Roman Catholic persuasian, and with its leaders (mainly priests) hostile to and willing to subvert any attempt to impose the religious tenets of the Church of Ireland through educational institutions. The Irish solution also went beyond the Welsh, in that in the early nineteenth century the British came to acknowledge that efforts at direct religious control through Anglican schools were destined to fail; as part of that realization they established a national (secular) system for children from lower-class families of all persuasions, with religious education taking place at separate times and places among the Catholics, Church of Ireland, and Presbyterian segments of the population. The paradox in the Irish case is that a truly national system was first established in that country in which religious passion ran deeper than in perhaps any region in either Britain or the United States. In the longer run, however, the religious fervor won out, as the national system gradually began to fragment, with the Presbyterians and Church of Ireland adherents moving away from the National system into their own schooling enclaves, and the Catholics gradually assuming control of the national structure.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the Middle Atlantic states (especially New York and Pennsylvania) and the Midwest (Indiana, Illinois, Michigan) also proved interesting variants. Both New York and Pennsylvania (particularly the metropolitan centers of each) began in a kind of "English" solution, namely the pressure for state-subsidized but religiously autonomous schools, which is what the Catholic leaders demanded for a time. The outcome of this conflict ultimately was a kind of compromise structure, with the public schools scoring a victory in that they were the only publicly-financed part of the educational sector, but at the same time the Catholics erected a kind of parallel but privately financed system of parochial schools independent from the public sector. In the Midwest, the basic facilities for an educational system were in one way established before the region was peopled, through the various land ordinances of the late eighteenth century, and the story of education in that sector of the country was one of the unfolding of various regional and class conflicts over the shape that education was to take, but in some of those states the development of public educational systems was fairly smooth. Illinois and Indiana prove interesting cases, in that the dominant educational model in the commercial northern sectors of those states was the common-school model of New England (many of the settlers there were migrants from New England), and the dominant educational model in the rural southern parts of the states were more "southern" in character (a mix of anti-education and education stratified by class); the dynamics of the development of public education in those two states is in part a story of the conflict between these two models and its ultimate resolution.

The methodological implication of concentrating on structural outcomes for education in regions in addition to nations as a whole are numerous. At a minimum, it involves the multiplication of the number of cases involved from two (the U.S. and Britain) to ten (those two, plus England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, as well as New England, Middle

Atlantic, Old South, and Midwest), thereby providing an increased range of variation, and also providing the basis for a more extended systematic comparison of cases. Furthermore, in shifting this focus, it appears that it is still possible to speak of common pressures to develop mass educational systems (independent variables) in much the way they were outlined before (though the combinations and vicissitudes turn out to be more diverse with the larger number of cases); it is also still possible to use the same comparative dimensions with respect to comparative outcomes as envisaged above (dependent variables), though the number and types of outcomes is also more diverse. The main advantage in multiplying cases, however, is that it is possible to observe an enlarged number of the permutations and combinations of the major intervening institutional variables (economy, class, religion, etc.) as they combine with the general pressures to produce distinctive outcomes. Stating this line of reasoning in more general terms of comparative analysis, the strategy that has been adopted might be called comparative-configurational, in that it lies between two extremes of comparative study: (1) the case study mode, which focusses on the unique combination of distinctive historical forces to produce a unique historical outcome, and (2) the aggregative mode, which takes a very large number of cases and attempts to uncover significant correlations between variables suspected to be independent and variables suspected to be dependent. The present study is intermediate in that a determinate set of independent and intervening variables are held to produce a determinant number of outcomes, but at the same time some account is given of the historically specific ways in which these classes of determinants actually combine.

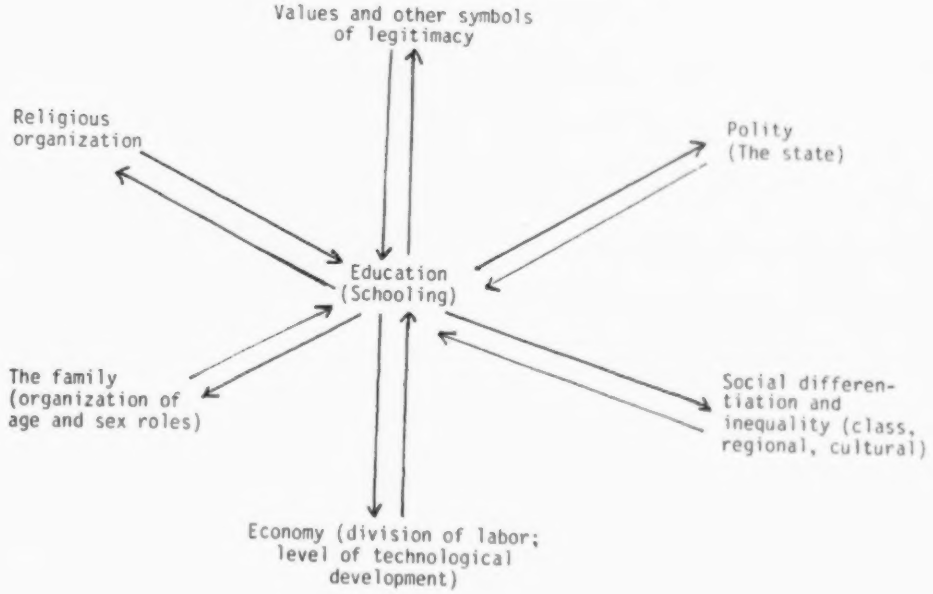
Institutional Forces Affecting the Development of Primary Education

As indicated, the main sets of intervening variables referred to in this study are institutional in character, and as such, they operate--as all institutional variables do--in a variety of ways: to propel change, to provide opportunities for change, and to provide obstacles to change, and, as a result of all these, to shape and limit that change. As also indicated, it has proved useful to distinguish between those institutional forces that affect the development of institutions such as primary schooling, on the one hand, and those institutional forces that are required to sustain it once it becomes established, though as will become evident, this distinction is a bit difficult to keep clean analytically, as the two kinds of forces overlap historically. In any event, I will consider them separately.

Chart I is a kind of map of the conception of societal interdependencies that informs this project. Education occupies center stage in the chart, not because it is aruged that it is _the_ central institution, but it is the main institution whose development is of central interest in this study. Also, for purposes of underscoring the interdependency of things, double-arrows have been drawn to link the various institutions with education, indicating that education is a shaping as well as a shaped institution (even more arrows could have been drawn, connecting, in principle, all the major institutional complexes in the chart with one another). For purposes of this exposition, however, I will concentrate on the influences of various of the institutional complexes _on_ education, giving from time to time comparative illustrations of the importance of each.

CHART I

INSTITUTIONAL FORCES AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION


Values and other symbols of legitimacy
Religious organization
Polity (The state)
Education (Schooling)
The family (organization of age and sex roles)
Social differentiation and inequality (class, regional, cultural)
Economy (division of labor; level of technological development)

First, and at the most general level, to respresent these institutional forces in this way suggests that certain clusters of institutions are primarily involved in assessing the general significance that education has for society. These kinds of significance have always preoccupied sociologists and historians of education and continue to be very much alive in their continuing research and debates. The first significance is that of education as one of the means of socialization of the young into the kinds of roles they are destined to play as adults in society, and into the norms and values that hold up these kinds of roles (and society in general) as legitimate. The cluster of institutional forces most involved in that particular significance are "values and other symbols of legitimacy," "religious organization," and "the family," all of which share with education the concern with transmitting culture and social norms through the generations. (This is not to say that there is not conflict in this arena, and it is not to say that culture and social norms do not change over time, but the continuous preoccupation through both conflict and change is transmission.) The second significance is that of education as one of the major forces making for order in society. The major institutional linkages of education in this case are with religion and values once again, but in this case as these are linked to the polity, which is, indeed, the agency par excellence geared to the mediation of conflict and the maintenance of order in society. It might be said that the trio of general cultural values, religion, and education operate to supply the legitimizing bases for maintaining order, however effective or ineffective they may be in producing this effect. And the third significance of education is that of its place in social conflict, and here its linkages with the economy, social differentiation and inequality, and the polity are most pronounced. Education becomes the battlefield for the interests of economic, class, ethnic, regional, and religious groupings, because it is indeed so important a mechanism for socialization and social control, and, as such, is an avenue of political advantage for those who control it and political disadvantage for those who do not.

One upshot of this line of discussion is that those scholars who press for a single or primary significance of education (socialization, social order, or social conflict) in history and society are bound to be in error and to be led toward fruitless polemical stances. Contained in the logic of Chart I is the inevitability that all three of these fundamental points of significance are present in the development and institutionalization of education; that the structuring and functioning of educational systems is properly regarded as a compromise formation, with all three kinds of significance being socially and politically significant at all times; and that the main agenda for the polity is not simply to work out the implications of one and impose them on society, but rather to juggle and articulate the multiple demands arising from all of the forces.

Having made this general point, I will now move to some of the more salient nodes of institutional influence on educational development, noting the particular importance of each, breaking each down into sub-variables, and making a number of comparative observations:

Values and Other Symbols of Legitimacy. In any exposition of the main determinants, it is essential to take account of what might be called the general value-system and cosmology of a society, for in the end all its institutions, laws, and forms of social organization find legitimization in the name of these general values. These general values typically specify what is regarded as desirable with respect to human qualities (e.g., "gentlemanliness" in the British sense), with respect to the nature of society, and with respect to the relation between man and nature. Inevitably these kinds of values find their way into situations of conflict and debate over almost all policies, projected laws, and projected social arrangements, because inevitably these kind of phenomena have to be legitimized and sustain legitimacy.

In the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century the dominant British value system can be referred to as a vision of an ordered hierarchy of society with the main orders (church, landowners, merchants and manufacturers, workers, and peasants) standing in definite relation to one another, with the superior orders owed deference and owing paternalistic responsibility to the inferior orders. Monarchy, peerage, and church were welded into the ruling clases, whose main responsibilities were to protect the nation, and to maintain stability through responsible government in an ordered society. The dominant American value system in the Republican period might be regarded as a negative mirror image of the British, the main ingredients of the latter having been rejected dramatically in the Revolutionary and Constitutional years from 1776 to 1791. Viewing the traditional European powers as "monarchical and tyrannical," the early American Republic rejected monarchy, titles, established church, and centralized political controlling, substituting in their place the idea of a republic, stressing common participation in keeping with the values of republic virtue, and stressing the openness of society and, to an increasing degree, the active mastery of nature and the circumstances of life.

In both countries, however, these dominant values existed in the context of a number of competitive views of society and competitive value systems. In Britain the middle class aspirations to participation in the ruling of society and their adherence, in large part, to Nonconformist values, constituted a kind of "American" minority counterpart in Britain in that the implications of their values tore away at the values of privilege, establishment, and fixed orders. Also during this period there were the stirrings of what might be called pre-socialist ideology (found among the radicals of the early nineteenth century and the Chartists), which called for a much more radical dismantling of the orderly and hierarchical society. In the United States the major competitive value system to the New England Protestant Republican variety was the Southern, which, while it embraced many of the values of Republicanism, nonetheless clung more closely to the British aristocratic model, particularly in those states dominated by the plantation economy. Later in the century, with the migration of large numbers of Catholics from Ireland, Germany, and later Eastern and Southern Europe (these included Jews as well), disrupted the Protestant undercurrent of Republicanism and made for a greater salience of a pluralist-assimilationist model. The upshot of these conditions of value-diversity in both Britain and the United States meant that except for brief periods the legitimization of schooling was accompanied by a brisk debate about values themselves (which explained in part why these debates were so often highly symbolic in character) rather than simply working out the consensus of a single very dominant value system. In addition, for those regions (Wales, Ireland, the American South) where one of the competitive value systems was dominant, this created special complications with respect to realizing any kind of national unity of the educational establishment, because there was such basic value discontinuity underlying that establishment.

Religion and Religious Organization. The content of religious ideology has much to do with whether education is valued, and if so, what kind of education. In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain, for example, the Church of England appeared to be characterized by the general belief that the Church retained a monopoly over the education of the young; the Church itself was divided between one group that felt it was unnecessary--even dangerous--for the lower orders to be educated beyond the reading of the catechism and other minimum skills, whereas another more liberal branch believed that the education of the young, if properly executed, would be helpful in generating proper patterns of deference toward both God and their betters. The implications of these several theologically-justified positions is evidently very conservative from the standpoint of fostering a mass educational system beyond a very minimal level. The Nonconformist tradition, by contrast, having broken away from the notion of church authority (and in England this included the authority of the Church of England), stressed the individual's relation to God, and the communication to God through the Bible, which demanded a much more elaborated kind of literacy. And at the other extreme, the Catholic religion called for an even tighter monopoly than the Church of England, insisting not only that the Church was in exclusive control of of the religion of the young, but also that the priests should be responsible for reading and interpreting the Bible to the flock, who themselves should not read it. The implications of these religious positions for both the extent and the type of education to be encouraged (or discouraged) are evident.

A more decisive dimension of religion lies in a specific feature of its institution and organization: the degree to which religion is structurally fused or differentiated from the political system. At one extreme is theocracy, in which the state is regarded as an arm of the church; at the other extreme is secular civil society, in which the polity is conceived as an autonomous body, independent from formal religious connection. Late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain represented a kind of intermediate position. In Britain the Church of England was legally established as the national church, highly privileged, heavily subsidized, and represented officially in the polity in the House of Lords; its official status was most dramatically sybmolized in the Coronation, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury formally legitimized the state through the monarchy. In practice, however, establishment was only partial in this period, as Dissent had managed to secure toleration, and maintained pressure for parity with the Church with respect to one issue after another (access to institutions of higher education, marriage ceremonies, etc.). The pressure for equal denominational status was also being sought by Catholics, and later, Jews. So Britain had a mixed system of establishment combined with denominationalism, a system which seems almost inherently unstable, since any vestige of privilege that remained with the Establishment seemed destined to become a source of relative deprivation on the part of the other denominations, and thus a bone of political contention, since the religious system was so clearly fused with the polity by virtue of the fact of establishment. In the United States, during the Republican period, the formal disestablishment of the church in the First Amendment of the Constitution (followed by the individual states in succeeding decades), meant that the United States approached a system of pure denominationalism, in which religious organization could place no official claim on the state (or states) by virtue of some kind of established status, and the state could make no official claim to regulate the beliefs or practices of religious denominations, except insofar as they were illegal according to secular law. The claim on societal resources was based on competition for adherents and voluntary contributions from them, with the state playing no official role in this process.

With respect to education, the resulting burdens of proof--and the attendant conflicts--were different in the two countries. In the United States the political authorities were free (indeed, constrained) to take initiative with respect to education without resorting to or going through religious bodies; the basic definition of the situation was to remove religious competition from the polity, and the shape of conflicts was how to keep religious bodies out of education (these were the major terms of debate between the Catholics and others during the mid-nineteenth century, and to a limited extent to this day). In Great Britain the political authorities could not intervene in the support of education without resorting to the religious bodies; the shape of conflicts there was how to intervene without at the same time drawing the opposition of one or more of the religious bodies. Any intervention in education throughout the century was indeed scanned and criticized by all religious bodies, and it proved impossible to remove theological debates and debates about privilege and injustice from debates about legislation supporting the development of education, the allocation of resources, and the establishment of educational organizations (e.g., teacher training colleges) and ancillary educational roles (e.g., school inspectors). In looking at the large picture of primary educational development in the United States and Britain in the nineteenth century, these contrasting religious-political pictures turn out to be one of the most decisive influences on the relative freedom (or paralysis, as the case may be) of the state to foster educational development at the primary level.

The Polity. Two particular political dimensions--aside from the church-state issue discussed--which conditioned the debates, establishment, and institutionalization of education in Britain and in the United States, will be stressed and documented. The first has to do with the degree of political centralization in the two countries. From the very beginning of state involvement in education in Britain--in 1833, when a modest program of subsidizing different religious bodies in their educational efforts--the establishment of local schools was filtered through a national agency, first the Committee of Council and later the Department of Education. Support, accountability, interest in management, training and payment of teachers--all these were matters of nationally-centered interest and control. This meant that educational conflicts at the regional (e.g., Wales, Ireland) and local (township, parish) levels tended to reverberate upward into the central political-administrative body, and sometimes into Parliament itself. By virtue of the decentralization of the United

States into states, counties, townships, and districts, this kind of flow of local conflicts was, by and large, structurally avoided. The federal government was completely removed from state educational policy, aside from general encouragment and block-grant subsidies, and until the states began to assume responsibility for financing--and inevitably holding accountable--local schools, the states themselves were structurally removed from local policies and conflicts. The institutional effect of these arrangements was undoubtedly to increase the freedom of localities to develop their politically most suitable (i.e., satisfactory to constituencies) kind of schooling without guidance or conflict at the level of the centralized state (or states).

(One of the paradoxes that has emerged in this study is the following: Why is it that in a highly centralized system such as Britain--given the fact that centralized administrative staffs tend toward standardization of procedures and results--the structure of education showed such proliferation, fragmentation, and diversity? And why is it that in the United States, during the formative period from the 1830s through the 1850s, in a highly decentralized system--and, by implication, permitting much local control and experimentation--such a uniform model of the common school developed? [The large exception here is the American South, which, by and large, persisted in its stratified system of primary education until the last third of the century, when the common school became the model there as well, though that model was not generalized across caste lines.] The resolution of that paradox is not yet complete, but I believe it will be largely resolved by referring to the dynamics of class and religious structuration and conflict as they differed between the two countries and among their regions.)

A second source of political difference with respect to educational politics, policies, and decision-making had to do with the different ways in which democracy was institutionalized in the two countries in the nineteenth century. In Britain educational politics tended to take the form of different factions within the ruling group (Church vs. dissent, aristocratic vs. middle classes) among themselves as to what kind of education was appropriate for the poor. Until the last part of the century the poor were not part of the electoral process that brought these ruling groups to power. The way in which the voice of the poorer classes was "consulted" on matters of educational policy was to react to some explicit or suspected meaning attributed to political agitations by various religious and class groupings in society. The agitations of religious groupings on educational issues were usually very direct in meaning, but the agitations of the poor concerned more purely economic and political issues, such as low wages, unemployment and economic hardship generally, and often enfranchisement, but seldom concerned educational issues; the ruling groups often reacted to a general political crisis in terms of specific educational reforms out of a general ideological confiction that education was a means of minimizing all kinds of political protest among the poor by making them deferent, respectable, and/or responsible. From an early period in the United States, however, by virtue of the widespread institutionalization of universal male suffrage (excluding the black population) issues of educational reform and decision-making entered the arena of electoral politics explicitly, and political parties reacted to and exploited educational agitations. (This structural possibility of directly influencing parties probably accounts in part for the relative absence of uninstitutionalized political protest in the United States; an exception was the religious "riots" against Catholics on the educational problem from time to time.) It was only after the extension of the franchise to the working classes that this kind of development took place in significant degree in Britain (for example, in the election of 1874, when Nonconformist outrage at the clauses of the Education Act of 1874 helped to turn the Gladstone government out of office.)

Social Differentiation and Inequality: Class. The theme of class and inequality has reappeared often in the exposition thus far (it can never really be avoided in this particular comparative analysis), and will reappear in the discussion of family and economy next, so only a few consolidating points will be made here.

In the nineteenth century Great Britain manifested a stratification system that was based on the layering of "orders," "ranks," or "classes." The system had been largely hereditary, and even the "openness" of the aristocracy tended to be a two-generational matter (i.e., the acquisition of fortunes in commercial or mercantile activities, then marrying into or buying into land). The working-classes, too, including the peasantry, were defined as "stations" in life, by implication hereditary, though the vast amount of mobility from peasantry into industrial occupations and urban residence belies this expectation in fact. Nevertheless, by and large, the new industrial working classes were assimilated into the traditional definition of a "class" that occupied a quasi-permanent station in society, and were to be regarded as such.

American society in the early Republic, while stratified (planters, merchants, workmen, farmers) had, however, broken through the fixity of of class lines formally by removing hereditary titles and ideologically with the stress on equality of opportunity and social mobility; economically, too, the "openness" of the society to the West constituted an opportunity for individuals to "break out" of the stratification system.

Several qualifications to this general characterization must be made. First, British society was not without mobility, as the story of numerous entrepreneurs tells, and as the opportunities for movement into service occupations later in the century permitted working classes to move into higher-status non-manual occupations. (Indeed, the primary educational system for the poor provided considerable opportunity for social mobility; by and large the teachers in that system were recruited from very bright working-class boys and girls, who first served as pupil-teachers, then attended training colleges, and were "placed" in working-class schools around the country.) Second, the caste status of the American black slaves constituted an even stricter hereditary "layering" than the British class system. Third, in certain regions the class system was relatively less rigid than the English. Scotland is the most obvious example, but the North of England stood in a kind of intermediate kind of situation with respect to stratification, and a region like Wales, while bifurcated radically between the English landowners and commercial-industrial classes on the one hand and the Welsh on the other, revealed less "class" preoccupation because of their identification as "Welsh" and Dissenters on the positive side, and anti-English and anti-Anglican on the negative side. Fourth, in certain pockets of American society quasi-aristocratic arrangements persisted in the old East and the old South. And fifth, the possibility of migration (mainly to North American and Australia) also constituted a means whereby British could "break out" of their stratification systems.

Notwithstanding these differences, these broadly contrasting class systems constituted fundamentally different "gyroscopes" or "programs" that would shape the development of the educational systems of the respective societies. For Britain, the fundamental tendency would be to stratify the educational system in such a way that would reproduce the larger stratification system, and would work to provide each "class" with what was "necessary" for its station. Certainly this was the guiding philosophy for the highest stratum, which was explicitly geared to inculcating those gentlemanly virtues, outlooks, and skills that would equip them as future members of the ruling classes. As for the poor, the earliest voluntary activities on the part of religious bodies reflected the efforts of landowners and merchants as well as the clergymen themselves to establish schools "for" the poor; the child-labor legislation of 1833 called for industrialists in the cotton industry to establish schools "for" the children who worked in their manufactories; and as late as the 1850s the Newcastle Commission blamed the failure of primary education in remote agricultural areas and in urban centers on absentee landlords and irresponsible merchants and manufacturers who would not provide resources for schools "for" the poor. This picture is also complicated by considerable evidence of self-education on the part of the poor, both in chapels and in political and social associations; and by the changing circumstances of the working classes after their enfranchisement, when their own voice in their educational affairs became stronger and more direct, and when working-class schools came to be regarded in part as vehicles for social mobility as well as mechanisms for reproducing a stable working class.

The primary cultural and ideological thrusts in the early American republic were to lay stress on education as a mechanism for building the Republic itself and cultivating the virtues which were thought to sustain it; to lay stress on the schools as a community (rather than a class) resource, open to all and constituting an opportunity for personal (rather than class) uplifting. Yet this dominant tendency, too, was qualified in many ways. First, in those areas with quasi-aristocratic survivals, some efforts were made to provide schools "for" the poor, which, however, gradually gave way to egalitarian pressures to give all access to primary schools. Second, there was the more or less constant tendency for the better-off in large communities to revert to private academies and schools, a tendency which worked in the "British" direction of stratifying education according to class, and reproducing class advantages thereby. And, of course, blacks were completely excluded from both public and private schools during this period.

Even taking these qualifications into account, the dominant picture remains the same: the British emphasis was on serving and maintaining the various social orders, with an eye to producing the hierarchical system of class; disciplining a labor force; keeping order by cultivating respectable subjects; and to a lesser degree in enhancing national economic competitive capacity. The dominant American emphasis was on training citizens as participants; encouraging successful individual strivers; and building community solidarity that, it was hoped, would cut across and minimize class divisions; and also the disciplining of an emerging labor force. Subsequently the American themes came to resemble the English more, as heterogeneous immigrants and potentially unruly urban workers came to constitute, if not outright classes, then groups that did not appear to accept and observe the norms of civility and Republican virtue.

In recent decades the literature on educational history has shifted noticeably toward the themes of class domination and class conflict as the twin motives and engines of various levels of educational development. Certainly those themes dominate the American revisionist approach, and virtually no other themes are now visible among the British writers on educational history, however they may differ in particular interpretations. Certainly this shift has proven to be a valuable corrective to the benign and somewhat Whiggish tradition that preceded it. Without commenting on the ultimate importance of these dimensions of class domination and conflict in this report, I will make several observations on the subject that have arisen in the context of this particular project.

The three main claims of the "class domination and conflict" arguments are: (1) the dominant classes neglected the education of the lower classes out of interests of their own, e.g., that they feared that it would introduce dangerous ideas in their midst, that it was too expensive, etc.; (2) the dominant classes provided education for the lower classes, but it was education that was designed to fulfill their own interests (e.g., to discipline a labor force, to pacify or instill deference in the subordinate classes), and, as such, ran counter to the interest of the lower classes; and (3) the dominant classes might have wished to execute either of the former, but out of motives of political apprehension, they were forced to provide some kind of education to the lower classes, however valuable or unvaluable that might have been. Taken side by side, the three motives appear to be somewhat contradictory; but the historical reality is probably that all three probably were in some kind of presence most of the time, but that they differed in salience from historical occasion to historical occasion, and they were inevitably mixed with motives other than the class ones specified on different occasions. In any event, three observations arising from my own investigations should be made on the score of class domination and class conflict.

First, whatever the mix of the three themes identified, it seems clear that neither the "dominant" or "ruling" classes nor the subordinate classes presented any kind of monolithic posture, but were divided among themselves as to the significance of education for the lower classes. Around 1820 in Britain, for example, there could be identified two distinctive schools among the upper layers of society: that education should be withheld from the poor because it gave them aspirations above their station and/or it gave them dangerous political ideas; and that education should be provided to the poor because it made them more industrious and respectable. Within the latter position two sub-variants could be discerned: that education should be mainly religious and moral, since this was the most effective means of inculcating respect and deference among the lower orders; and that education should be useful, practical, even scientific, so that those who received it could better themselves. A mix of motives could likewise be found in and among those political, economic, and intellectual leaders to which Horace Mann directed his exhortations (indeed, he identified these motives in his own arguments): that the poor required education to be responsible citizens in a republican democracy; that they would be better workers if educated properly; and that education provided a common culture which would soften the class antagonisms and the divisions between labor and capital.

On the side of the lower or working classes similar divergences in orientation appeared: in mid-nineteenth century Britain there existed an aristocracy of skilled workers who welcomed education for their children--in the form that the ruling classes were providing it--because they regarded it as a means for the children to improve themselves in society; a middle range of the working classes who took what might be described as a pragmatic and marginal interest in education, taking as much advantage of it as they thought necessary (e.g., to be minimally literate and numerate), but leaving it at that, and shunning it when economic opportunities arose for their children; the lowest range of the poor, who were indifferent and possibly hostile toward primary education because it meant nothing to them and to experience it was to be coerced; and a fourth group of politically conscious and active radicals, who openly opposed education of the form that the ruling classes were imposing on the poor, and who demanded a self-determined education more in keeping with their economic and political aspirations as workers. In the United States, too, similar differences appeared. Working groups in the United States also differed in their orientations: the workingmen's associations in the Eastern cities stressed education as an opportunity for self-improvement and advancement in society; unskilled laborers, including immigrants, proved more indifferent and hostile to any education; and "dirt" farmers rejected learning in large part because they regarded it as useless, and because of their negative image of "gentlemen farmers" and "city folks." The upshot of these observations is that in any historical study the theme of "class domination" and "class antagonism" must be disaggregated and assessed in relation to a variety of different groups, not simply dominant and subordinate classes.

Second, it has become apparent that what is often thought to be class antagonism cannot be regarded purely as such, because it is so often mingled with and sometimes subordinated to cultural, regional, and ethnic antagonism. The case is quite clear in outlying regions such as Wales and Ireland, where there was a class basis for hostility to provision of the English model of education (since it was the ruling political-economic-religious classes that were imposing it on them) but the hatred along religious, nationalistic, and linguistic lines seemed equally if not more heated. The German farmers of Pennsylvania, themselves variegated by class in their rural communities, put on a regional "German" face to the central state authorities in resisting a standardized English-urban model of education; these groups were very interested in education, but in keeping with their own cultural aspirations. And the same might be said for urban Irish migrants, whose resistence to education was simultaneously class, ethnic, and religious in character. It might be argued that the religious, cultural, ethnic, and language dimensions are symbolic manifestation of true class interests, and are therefore "false" as consciousness, but such a judgment must remain a theoretical supposition.

Third, no matter what an investigator's ultimate assessment of the centrality or marginality of class domination and class antagonism as a factor, it remains that these dimensions must be regarded as variable in character, and that that variation is most visible and appreciated when it is observed comparatively. It is quite clear, as some revisionist historians have argued, that class domination and conflict played a more salient role in the institutionalization of "culture factories" and in community conflicts over education in nineteenth-century America. Yet when one views this picture in the context of the English experience, class domination and class conflict recedes significantly; there is no question that the whole British educational experience in the nineteenth century (and to a marked degree today) permeated in an inescapable way with the preoccupation of class and class distinctions, and that no educational issue, policy decision, or institution could be assessed without first turning to the question of its class significance. The same can be said for the American experience, but to a markedly less degree; the organizing principles of American primary education in the nineteenth century did not have to confront class in such a headlong manner because in fact class was not nearly so central an organizing institution, and because the American agenda in that era was more occupied with different matters such as nation-building and coming to terms with cultural, racial, and religious heterogeneity. The same points can be made with respect to regions as well. The issue of class was not nearly so salient in the Scottish case as in the English; indeed, when the British tried to introduce their own paternalistic system onto the Scottish scene in the middle of the nineteenth century, the main basis of opposition was that it forced Scottish families to identify themselves by class in order to be eligible for the system--an idea foreign to the Scottish community-based traditions of primary education. Similarly, to choose the opposite extremes, class in the Old South was a conspicuously more central organizing principle for the structure of education than it was in the new, open, dynamic midwestern states such as Wisconsin and Michigan, though of course it was not completely absent in the latter, either.

The Economy and Family Complex. I consider these two institutional complexes together, because historically they were so intertwined in affecting both the demand and supply of primary education in Great Britain and the United States.

Our own recent economic and social history regarding work, family, and education has led us to accept two statements as almost axiomatic. The first is that in the normal course of the early part of the life cycle, the child is expected first to go to school for a certain number of years, accumulate skills that will equip him or her for the workplace, and then graduate to full-time membership in the labor force (universally for males, variably for females, depending on family demands); part-time labor during the school year and full-time labor during the summer is also the norm (but variably, if viewed comparatively), but as a general rule, schooling is thought to be prior to work. The second is that among the implications associated with the industrialization of society, one of the most important is the need for literacy, numeracy, and the acquisition of specialized skills, depending on the nature of the job or occupation to be assumed. The principal explanation for the development of mass schooling more or less coterminously with industrial development is that schooling is a major supplier of that level of commitment and skills (human capital) that is required for the continuous and effective functioning of an industrial order. Comparative-historical research on the early phases of industrialization in Britain and America indicate that both these axioms have to be called into question.

The historical record shows that (upper and middle classes excluded) the norm for craft and peasant situations is that children were put to work at a very early age and received their training for farming or for a particular trade mainly in the family setting. With the advent of wage labor under conditions of rationalized agriculture and under industrialization, and insofar as the children were used in these settings, this meant a breaking away from the family setting for work. And insofar as formal schooling came to be introduced under conditions of agricultural and industrial development, this meant drawing children away from both family and work. Historically, then, the obligations toward family, work, and schooling evolved in competition with one another to some degree, and in this section I would like to lay out the main institutional and other variables that affected the way in which this competitive process worked out. The following appear to be the most important:

(1) The structure of the economy, and its demand for labor. The important matters here are the agricultural-industrial-service mix, the degree to which child labor is possible and demanded (taking into account strength and skill), the degree to which adult female labor is possible and demanded (taking the same into account). Insofar as the level of the latter two (child and female labor) are high, this constitutes an obstacle to placing the children in schools, when children are employed full time, they are not available for schooling, and when adult women (mothers) are employed full time, ancillary help is required for caring for young children, and in many cases this means older (usually female) siblings of school age.

The comparative structures of the British and American economies in the early and middle nineteenth centuries are instructive on this score. The British economy, while still having a large agricultural sector, had from the last quarter of the eighteenth century undergone a spectacular development in industries such as cotton, wool, lace-making, pottery-making, steel, coal, and transportation, as well as in service industries ancillary to these. In virtually all of these industries--as in the traditional industries of farming and fishing--it proved possible to hire large numbers of children in low-skill and low-paying ancillary tasks. The use of adult female labor was also high in many industries in both factory and cottage industries. The American economy was primarily agricultural, with serious development of industry and transportation waiting until the 1830s and 1840s, though when the latter development occurred, the use of child and female labor developed accordingly (diminished, perhaps, for the by-then-native population by the arrival of cheap immigrant labor).

The structure of schooling in each country reflected the realities of the economic structure. The "model" school in Britain was one which ran for a long, continuous period throughout the year (reflecting the "urban" assumption of the possibility of full-time schooling), whereas in the beginning American schools were typically scheduled for a period of two terms, one summer and one winter, scheduled not to coincide with the busy periods of planting and harvesting. The social problems associated with the two types of schooling were also different. Because the engagement of the whole family in wage-earning was the general rule, irregular attendance and early withdrawal from school also became the general rule, since the family required the wages of those children who could work. The problem of irregular attendance was marked both in city and countryside, but was in a way more predictable in the latter, because of the seasonal demands on the children for planting and harvesting. Absence and withdrawal also seemed to fluctuate with conditions of prosperity and depression, those problems being worse under conditions of brisk trade, since employers sent out more demands for child labor. Attendance problems in the countryside were not so severe in the early American experience, since the terms of the schools were scheduled so as not to conflict with demands on children's labor, but once urban schools became more widespread with urbanization itself, the problems of irregular attendance and early withdrawal also made their appearance. And when educational expectations continued to rise in the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century, a specifically rural problem began to dominate the attention of reformers: how to lengthen the school year, which,with its brief summer and winter terms appeared to be much too short.

(2) The demands of the economy for literacy and numeracy. It is in this area in this period of British and American history that the functional link between industrial development and schooling can be brought into question. Certainly a general argument can be made that a worker is more effective if he or she can read simple instructions and possess the ability to deal with the rudimentary process of budgeting cash. However, in both Britain and America in this period, the demands of industrial jobs for literacy and numeracy were quite minimal. The level of skill in both agriculture and industry was by and large very low (except in some occupations, such as fine spinning), and even in some of those the skills were manual rather than conceptual. And most agricultural operations did not require either literacy or numeracy. Interviews with employers on both sides of the Atalntic during this period showed that they were somewhat indifferent to the issue of literacy, some expressing the opinion that literate workers were better workers, others finding no difference, and still others expressing the belief that the ability to read and write made workers too independent. Certainly the functional connection between industrial requirements and school-imparted skills was rather minimal in this particular period,

and in Britain at least, the very heavy use of children in both agriculture and industry from a very early age resulted in at least a temporarily negative relationship between industrialization and the development of literacy, because work tended to keep the children out of school, and the employers did not find the children's illiteracy to be a problem. It seems evident, then, that the functional connection between development and literacy plus other cognitive skills comes later in the developmental process, when primary and secondary industries recede in relative importance and tertiary occupations, demanding much more complex cognitive skills become more salient. It appears to follow from this that in the early part of the nineteenth century, conditions _other_ than the need for industrial skills (conditions such as the preoccupation with social respectability and social order, or the preoccupation of fitting citizens for democratic life) were the more important.

(3) The level of real wages. As indicated, the typical British working class family of the early nineteenth century was a wage-earning family, and it was a _family_ wage in that there were multiple wage-earners, depending on the family's need and the stage in the life-cycle of its members. Furthermore, real wages, particularly at the lower-skill levels, were such that the family needed multiple wage-earners to stay at or above the subsistence line. Comparative figures show that during many of the decades in the nineteenth century American and British real wages were comparable at the higher level of skill, but at the unskilled level American wages were considerably (as much as one-third) higher. Certainly this must have influenced the comparative readiness of wage-earning families to release their children from work to the school.

(4) Along the same lines, the size of the family. The larger the family, the greater the needs for subsistence, and hence the greater the needs for multiple participation of family members in the labor force.

(5) Ideological variables relating to the domestic division of responsibility in the family. The early Victorian period brought, in both Britain and America, a new, or at least accentuated ideology that men were those who were responsible for the world of commerce, politics, and public affairs, and women were responsible for the affairs of the domicile, including assuring its warmth as a hearth and the proper upbringing of children. Called the "cult of true womanhood," this ideology worked to discourage women from many classes from entering the workplace (in parts of the United States it actually resulted in a delay in entering age for school, on the presumed theory that children were better off with their mothers than in school). The two groups most conspicuously exempted from this ideology were the British working-class women, who were generally expected to work out of necessity, and women in immigrant families in the United States (for the same reason). Insofar as women were discouraged from working, this probably worked at least marginally to free their daughters--previously used for child-minding when the mother was absent--for schooling.

(6) Legal prohibitions on labor along age and sex lines. Beginning in the 1830s and continuing to the present, both British and American society made a special point of introducing and enforcing legislation regulating the minimum age and hours of the labor of minors, as well as hours and other conditions of women. Limited in scope and feebly enforced in the beginning, this kind of legislation spread in the later ninteenth century and was more firmly enforced as the decades passed.

From the standpoint of the schooling of the young, such legislation must be regarded as friendly, for, if enforced, it releases children from the demands of work and frees them for schooling. In the 1850s and 1860s the preoccupation with "street arabs"--gangs of children wandering the streets--became a matter of heightened concern among educational reformers, even though such concern had existed to some degree for some time. One of the probable causes for this heightened concern was that factory legislation limiting children in a variety of industries other than textiles was being passed by Parliament, and inspectors were beginning to try to enforce it in various kinds of plants and firms. The concern with those children who were "not at home, not at school, and not at work" may well have added to the pressure for the children to enter school. In the United States serious enforcement of child-labor legislation began late in the nineteenth century, when labor unions and humanitarians continued to demand it, and this may have been one of the factors that affected the speed with which high schools were beginning to cover the country--to accommodate youth at those ages when they could no longer work.

(7) Laws calling for compulsory schooling. One of the ways in which authorities attempted early to deal with the problem of early withdrawal was to moralize parents and children about the value of schooling. This kind of hounding seemed to have less force than the other forces that were affecting parents' and children's decisions about attendance, so sooner or later authorities began to turn to direct compulsion through law. In both countries this was a somewhat reluctant move, since many argued that it was an infringement on the freedom of families. However, by the end of the century both had compulsory legislation and the means to enforce it; moreover, the age to which compulsion

gradually began to ease upward. This kind of legislation, too, proved to be friendly for the spread of schooling, for obvious and direct reasons.

Such are some of the main variables in the family-economy complex which affected both the supply and demand for schooling in the periods of historical confluence which occurs in the period between 1870 and 1890 in Britain, when attendance experienced astronomical gains. Part of the reason had to do with the supply of schooling, which was stimulated greatly by the legislation of 1870, which for the first time permitted the state to establish schools without going through the voluntary religious bodies. At the same time, however, these years witnessed the following additional developments:

- Continuing technological developments in industry which reduced the reliance on child and adolescent labor.
- Increased scope and enforcement of child labor legislation (this may have been part of the reason for the development just cited).
- An increase in real wages associated with the Great Depression of the 1870s and the price declines reaching into the 1890s, even though unemployment was severe in some parts of this period.
- Increasingly comprehensive and increasingly enforced laws making schooling up to certain years compulsory.
- The beginnings of birth restriction and smaller families, which in these decades spread for the first time to the laboring classes.
- The continuing expansion of sales, clerical, and other service occupations which ranked higher socially and placed a higher

premium on literacy and numeracy than did manual work, thus making schooling a more visible and direct means to social upgrading.

Processes of Conflict and Change through which Educational Structures Emerge

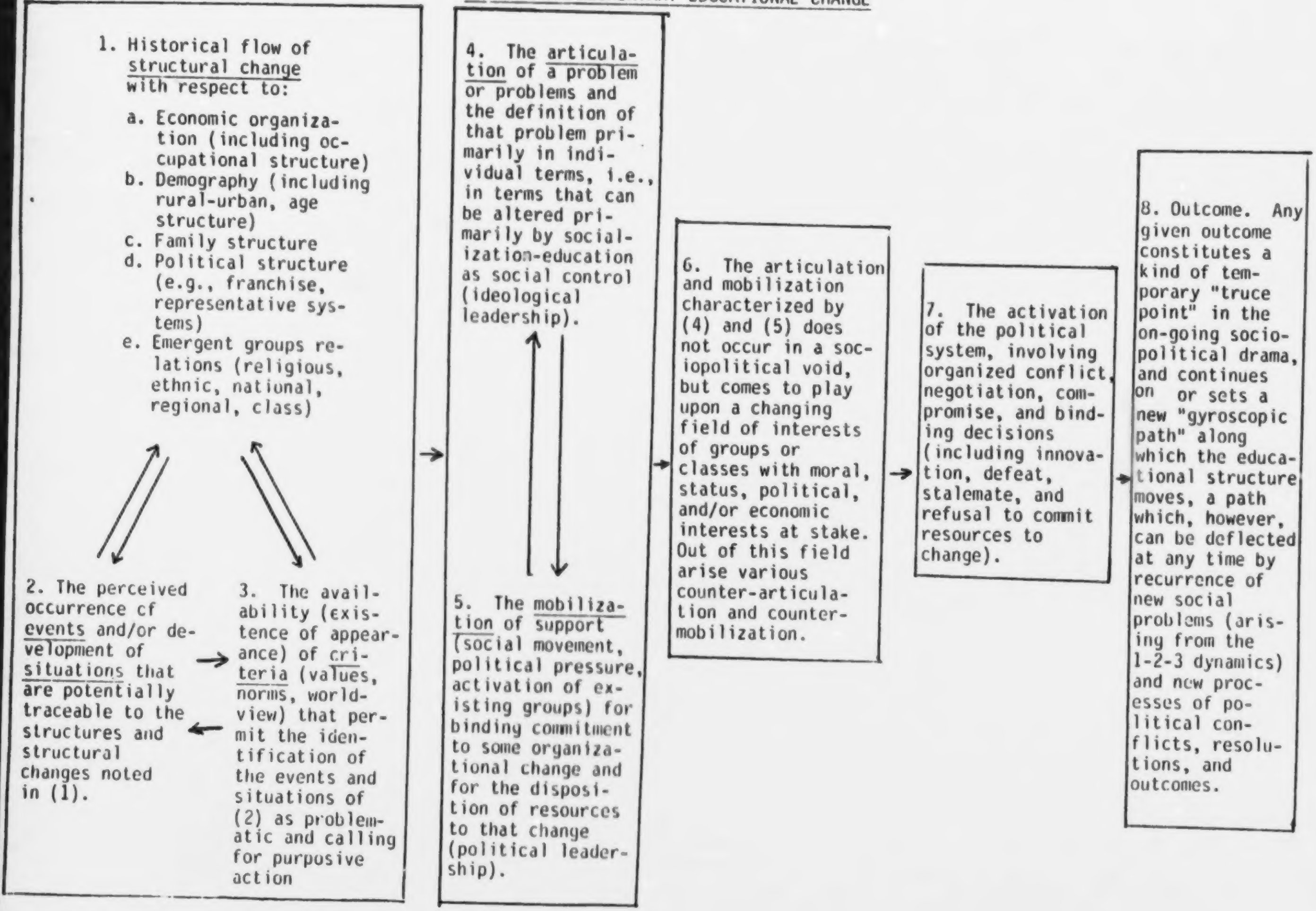
The long list of institutional forces listed, subdivided, and illustrated in the section immediately preceding constitute very important sets of limits on the directions in which educational change and educational organization can take. Two fundamental points must be made about this multitude of institutional forces, both of which force the investigator in the direction of thinking about social process as an integral part of the growth of educational establishments.

(1) Any given institutional force (e.g., the tendency for agricultural and industrial production to draw children into work rather than schooling) does not affect the course of schooling in any direct and uncontaminated way. It always operates in combination with many other forces. It was countered by moral exhortations by political, educational, and religious leaders; various kinds of inducements, such as payments to schools for high rates of attendance, remission of school fees for the very poor; in addition, other forces pulled against compelling children to go to school, for fear it would invade certain traditions of independence that were thought to be the privilege of the family or head of household. Any effort to arrive at some sort of policy that would provide a type of schooling more attractive to children and parents, then, always involved the working out of a number of institutional forces and the interplay among groups who represented these forces.

(2) It is evident from the above that the various institutional forces cited pull in different directions, and for that reason inevitably generate conflict about any educational policy or development, and this conflict inevitably poses problems for political authorities, who must react to such problems by some means, whether it be repression of one side, accommodation of one side, a compromise solution, or whatever. In short, the flow of history will generate recurrent problems and conflicts, which in turn generate some kind of political process, which in turn leads to some kind of outcome, the terms of which set the stage for a next round of generation of problems, political process, and political outcome.

During the course of this project a model for such change has been developed, and it is hoped that it will be possible to apply this model to the decisive episodes of structural change in the history of primary education in the two countries--and in their regions--thereby giving a more determinate explanation of the outcomes generated by complicated institutional pressures on the one hand, and the structural directions taken by the educational system on the other. I have reproduced this model in Chart II. This model is meant to be a general one, not limited to any one period of history or any one country. It was developed out of a great amount of past theoretical thinking on the part of the principal investigator, and modified repeatedly in the light of vast amounts of historical detail that were amassed during the course of the project. It is reproduced in Chart II. I will devote this section to elaborating and illustrating briefly each of the ingredients of the model, as numbered.

A MODEL OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL CHANGE



1. Historical flow of structural change with respect to:
   - a. Economic organization (including occupational structure)
   - b. Demography (including rural-urban, age structure)
   - c. Family structure
   - d. Political structure (e.g., franchise, representative systems)
   - e. Emergent groups relations (religious, ethnic, national, regional, class)

2. The perceived occurrence of events and/or development of situations that are potentially traceable to the structures and structural changes noted in (1).

3. The availability (existence of appearance) of criteria (values, norms, worldview) that permit the identification of the events and situations of (2) as problematic and calling for purposive action

4. The articulation of a problem or problems and the definition of that problem primarily in individual terms, i.e., in terms that can be altered primarily by socialization-education as social control (ideological leadership).

5. The mobilization of support (social movement, political pressure, activation of existing groups) for binding commitment to some organizational change and for the disposition of resources to that change (political leadership).

6. The articulation and mobilization characterized by (4) and (5) does not occur in a sociopolitical void, but comes to play upon a changing field of interests of groups or classes with moral, status, political, and/or economic interests at stake. Out of this field arise various counter-articulation and counter-mobilization.

7. The activation of the political system, involving organized conflict, negotiation, compromise, and binding decisions (including innovation, defeat, stalemate, and refusal to commit resources to change).

8. Outcome. Any given outcome constitutes a kind of temporary "truce point" in the on-going sociopolitical drama, and continues on or sets a new "gyroscopic path" along which the educational structure moves, a path which, however, can be deflected at any time by recurrence of new social problems (arising from the 1-2-3 dynamics) and new processes of political conflicts, resolutions, and outcomes.

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(1) Any study of structure change over time (in this case, the structural change that constitutes the development and change of a primary system of education), must be undertaken in the context of past and ongoing structural changes in society in general. It is these other structural changes that generate, in their complexity, the different kinds of institutional pressures detailed in the preceding section. It was the growth of industry of various sorts that gave rise to the generation of masses of workers in cities, which in turn gave rise to a class that could not readily be assimilated into the traditional British notion of "orders of society," which in its own terms gave rise to agonized and conflicted concern with the issue of how this kind of novel and possibly unruly class could be accommodated. It was the political train of events in and around the American Revolution that produced the uneasily decentralized Republic based on principles opposed to traditional European bases of social order, which in its turn generated great preoccupations about the origins of social order in such a Republic, which in its turn generated a kind of vague and general search for how such order could be secured. In short, any given society inherits an on-going series or train of institutional changes affecting its demographic structure, its religious structure, its economic structure, its class structure, and its political structure, and affecting the status and disposition of groups that are precipitated out of this structure. As indicated, any study of novel structural change has to take into account those institutional pressures that are being generated by this flow of societal history.

(2) The impetus to many types of purposive social change (including the building of institutions), particularly if it is intended to be

ameliorative in some way, is seldom found in the broad sweep of structural changes in the actors' society--these kinds of changes are typically remote from view and are recognized only after one or another of their effects are witnessed--but rather in the presumed effects themselves, namely disturbing events and/or situations that are thought to signify something unsatisfactory, or disharmonious, or dangerous. A dramatic crime or a series of dramatic crimes, or a perceived rise in the crime rate may be attributed to the failure of some institutions, such as the family, or education, or the police, or the public authorities generally. A public demonstration may be assigned to group irresponsibility, but at the same time it may be regarded as symbolic of a threatened political crisis or breakdown of the public order.

In order for any set of events or situations to qualify as the starting point (dissatisfaction, anomaly, or threat) for some structural change in society, it must be referred by the witnessing group or groups to a defect in some kind of structure. Take the phenomenon of poverty or pauperism, for example, In order for that kind of phenomenon to qualify as a basis for initiating some kind of change, it must be assessed in or referred to some kind of economic context if it is to be taken as a need to call for some kind of alteration of the economic state of affairs. If poverty is perceived as a result of personal sloth or moral degradation, or if it is perceived as an inevitable and unalterable part of organized social life, or, indeed if it is simply not "noticed"--i.e., not assigned by historical groups to any context and therefore be regarded as "non-situation" and "non-event"--then it will not become the basis for a call for structural change. This is the sense in which (1) structural context, including past and ongoing structural change and (2) events and situations are relational to one another. Without being linked in the perceptions of historical observers, the events and situations will not be regarded as an occasion calling for change.

(3) There is a second sense in which "events and situations" must be regarded as relational. They must be referred not only to some kind of larger structural context, but they must also be referred to some sort of evaluative criterion or criteria that render them problematical, i.e., unsatisfactory. For example, widespread exploitation of child labor persisted for centuries in both agriculture and crafts in England and in the American colonies without being regarded as a particularly noteworthy situation (indeed, it was positively valued as a source of current subsistence for the family and preparation for a future trade for the child). It required the development of certain humanitarian values (as they had crystallized for example, in connection with the abolition of slavery decades earlier) for child labor to be widely regarded as threatening or evil. The child labor example is a particularly good one, because in the early nineteenth century this phenomenon became "relational" in both senses I have identified: it was commonly identified as a problem emanating from the capitalist mode of organization (relational to [1]) and evil on humanitarian grounds (relational to [3]).

I make these points not merely out of a motive to achieve analytic nicety, but out of an interest in pointing out that the "events and situations" under heading (2) are not to be conceived as rooted in any kind of objective historical reality, but relative to the perspectives and values of historical actors and groups in the historical situation itself. Almost any event or situation can be evaluated as signifying something about a structure in society or as morally charged (evil-good, illegitimate-legitimate). Indeed, all three components of the complex of variables that initiate purposive efforts at social change may be imagined or posited by the individual or groups who "see" them. For example, a troubling "event or situation" (such as prostitution on the streets) may be described by an interest group as "real," may be assigned to the failure of the family (also assumed to be "real"), which in turn may be referred to some notion of the sanctity of the family as a fundamental societal value (also posited as "real"). Given the historical variability of the events and situations that are regarded to be "objective" social problems but can be shown to be not social problems always and elsewhere, it is necessary to conceptual "social problems" to take both structural and evaluative contexts into account.

Such was the case in nineteenth-century debates about education in both Britain and America. Such debates would inevitably begin with a recital of some unsatisfactory state of affairs (crime, ignorance, pauperism, etc.), assign it to some structural state of affairs (most often, indeed, to the absence of some structural state of affairs, such as no proper moral upbringing), and refer both to some set of value criteria (the need for social order, the need to protect property). Or the recital might have been positive: it is necessary to build a community life (structure), which is incidentally not yet built (situation), in order to achieve the ideals of republican virtue (evaluative criterion). The next set in the model of educational change, to which I now turn, is to convert this kind of recital into specifically educational terms.

(4) The confluence of social forces generated under appropriate combinations of variables (1), (2), and (3) just described are somewhat general in character, in that they can provide the complex that initiates

a great many different kinds of efforts to change things in society purposively, depending on how they are perceived and defined by different groups. What gives the present process model its distinctive *educational* flavor is found in the type of articulation and definition that is given to the kinds of social problems that arise out of the (1)-(2)-(3) complex. While the ideological definition arising from that complex may rest in part on its linkages with some larger social-structural situation or trend, the *amelioration* of the problem for the educational reformer is regarded as possible through some kind of education, i.e., some kind of moral and cognitive formation or transformation of *individuals*. The diagnosis is ultimately a moral or psychological one, since the agency of change is the individual person, or a population of individual persons. Thus an ideological diagnosis may regard the source of the problem of threatened social disorder in ethnic terms (i.e., because the perpetrators of social disorder are thought to have "Irish" characteristics of irresponsibility, drunkneness, etc.) the annointed vehicle for change--for the educationist--is to socialize their children into different kinds of individuals. On the other hand, if the diangosis *and* the cure are couched in systemic terms (as in variants of Marxist and socialist thought), the emerging ideological program is much more radical from the standpoint of structural change.

(The above paragraph suggests that the sole motive on the part of educationists is to improve an unsatisfactory state of affairs or sustain a satisfactory one by socializing children into repsonsible adults. By and large that is true. This must be qualified in one particular. One significance of educational ideologies is to "occupy" children in some kind of custodial care, children who if not occupied might prove to be in some way dangerous or disruptive. This might be called the short-term significance of schooling arrangements [containing children] as contrasted with the longer-term, character-transforming significance, though the two emphases are in no way opposed or contradictory.)

The foregoing observation leads to a number of important theoretical reflections, particularly regarding the essentially conserving quality of education (or, more particularly, schooling). For despite the often voiced reactionary sentiments that education makes people dissatisfied with their lot (and therefore likely to press for unwanted change), the fact remains that to envision education as the ameliorating agency is, in the first instance, to leave other structures (economic, political, class) intact, even though they may have been diagnosed as offending structures that have produced an unsatisfactory state of affairs. Education expansion is a kind of "add-on" type of social change, thought to change no other structures until at least the next generation, and the usual held-out promise is that this will be for the better. Perhaps, in the broadest sweep, this may be one of the reasons why schooling has been so widely adopted as a "solution" to a myriad of social problems in advanced--and advancing--countries: It leaves existing structures and groups intact, except to pinch a portion of their resources (through taxation, for example), and for this reason is less likely to be offensive to them. Education, more than many other kinds of envisioned change (except for religious conversion, and similar individual transformations), is centered primarily (not groups and structures), and is perceived as indirect and long-term at best in modifying structures and affecting groups.

In this observation we find a clue as to why it is so appropriate to think of education as a generalized resource in society. Those who hold out promises for it can promise almost anything to anybody, because they envision educational change as transforming the motivational basis for social behavior, which is non-specific with respect to type of role or structure--or type of social change--to which the individual carries this motivation. It is this peculiar combination of both the long-term utopian transformation of society with the individuals as vehicles and the minimal disruption or transformation of existing social structures that contributes to the general appeal of educational ideologies (even though bitter controversies prevail when it comes to defining the precise mode of implementing those ideologies).

There is still another argument that addresses this same question of "why education is the favored vehicle for social amelioration?" that may apply, at least to Western countries. Formal schooling, of course, is only one among many ways to deal with unsatisfactory states of affairs: in principle, more radical means, such as religious persecution, political repression, genocide, and other direct means are available and have been used by states frequently. But since the "modernization" of the West generally took place in the context of values that emerged from the values of the eighteenth-century enlightenment (i.e., in the context of the democratic revolution)--values such as the sanctity of the individual, personal freedom, and individual liberty--these more radical "solutions" became progressively less legitimate as means of dealing with unsatisfactory social states of affairs. Schemes of mass education may have gained some of their legitimacy from the twin facts that (a) educational means are not so immediately and directly coercive as more radical means of social control, and (b) these means were applied primarily to children, a category of persons who were not--and still are not--regarded as citizens in the full sense of the term.

These theoretical implications aside, it remains that one of the phases--necessary, I believe--in the process that results in some kind of structural change in education is the capacity of reformers to call upon--or invent--a "case" for the effectiveness of education as over against other kinds of means. This involves invoking some kind of "psychology" as to how education will transform individuals, and some kind of implied social effect of that transformation. To take one example, a dominant utilitarian view in the early nineteenth century was that the state should establish schooling for the poor at public expense (an odd stance at first glance, since the utilitarians were so insistent on non-intervention in other spheres, particularly the economy and the market). The rationale given for this argument is that it would be more beneficial for society, because the expense involved in providing schooling (a deterrent to crime) would involve much less cost as an investment than would the provision of prisons to hold the prisoners in the adult population who had taken to the life of crime because they had not been swayed by the moral effects of a proper education when young. This apparently simple assertion, of course, involves a whole range of presuppositions about the cost of education, the cost of crime, the effects of education, and the relation between the effects of education and the commission of crimes.

(5) A further ingredient in the change process is actually to mobilize individuals and groups politically in the name of the ideological interpretation implied in the discussion under (4). This mobilization

may take a number of familiar forms--demonstrations, petitions, pressure on political parties and politicians, producing pamphlets and other literature, persuading people to vote for the party they think is most likely to implement the favored educational policy, and so on. As indicated above, the form the political mobilization and pressure takes is in large part a function of the ways in which the processes of political participation and influence have been structured in a society.

The relations between the articulation of a problem (4) and the mobilization of support for action to be undertaken to ameliorate the problem (5) are represented as interactive in Chart II. By that is meant that articulation may precede mobilization, as in the case when a relatively new social movement makes its case and seeks to attract adherents; but also mobilization may precede articulation, as when a number of existing organized groups (e.g., religious sects, pressure groups) become sensitive to new problems and re-articulate their positions about them. Or, indeed, articulation and mobilization may be concurrent, as in the case of more or less permanent "watchdog" groups that are suveyers of the socio-political scene, on the lookout for developments that may create "problems" for their constituents.

(6) For the reasons immediately cited, it is rarely to be expected that proposals for change--for educational innovation, expansion or redirection--will be received neutrally by all constitutencies in a society and be permitted to sail through smoothly to implementation. New proposals invariably fall on contested ground. Lines of moral and cognitive jurisdiction over the young have usually already been proclaimed by existing groups (e.g., religious groups, private schooling arrangements), and, even in the relative absence of these kinds of jurisdictional claims,

institutional innovations require a diversion of financial resources, which invariably appear to be drawn from the resources available to other groups (landowners, businessmen, taxpayers). At the least these groups may veto the innovations; at the most they may be simply over-powered. More commonly the innovations are altered and tailored in such a way as to accommodate the positions of various interested groups, so as to strike a change that will appear to give minimum offense to diverse interested groups.

(7) The processes under (6) result in a situation of societal competition or conflict, invariably with "public" overtones if the interest in education is defined as "public" in any way. Two circumstances press this competition or conflict in the direction of the polity: (a) One of the general functions of the polity in society is to mediate and hopefully "solve" conflict situations (though the means employed to "solve" them are multiple), and the existence of conflict in the society, whether among contending groups or between dissatisfied groups and the governing powers themselves, inevitably, then, excites some kind of process of conflict-management in the polity. (b) The contending parties over an issue themselves have few resources available to reach solutions of conflicts, particularly if these conflicts are defined in terms of moral principles and absolutes--as they so often are in areas like religion, morality, and education--and the inevitable call is to some superordinate political agency (a legislature, a civil service agency, a court) to become involved.

The range of political processes excited by educational (and other kinds of political) ferment in nineteenth-century America certainly do not exhaust the gamut, since both these countries were political democracies (or moving in that direction at varying rates of speed), and as such tended to give precedence to the modes of political accommodation and compromise (even though these alternated with more repressive means of conflict-settlement in both countries throughout the century). It was in the crucible of the political process, therefore, that the demands of contending parties were presented and interpreted, that political bets and commitments were made, that compromises were suggested, rejected, modified, and resuggested. It was also in this crucible that binding decisions about the shape of primary education were made, and in which public resources were committed to establish and sustain the educational structures that were created by means of those binding decisions. It is the political process that precipitates out the building (or non-building) of educational structures, so it is the ultimate engine for implementing structural change.

(8) A binding political decision that takes the form of a law, a new agency regulating the educational process, a new kind of school, a new category of teachers, new requirements for curricula, etc., mark a kind of resting-point, however temporary, in the political process and the process of change. These are the moments of decision and commitment, and constitute the effort to transform the transferred political process into some kind of institutional reality within which the contenders can live. I have referred to such periods as "temporary truce points," though in a moment it will become apparent that such a term might be a bit misleading. These binding decisions and commitment of resources represent an effort to set the education system--or some part of it--on a kind of new "program" or "gyroscope" on which it can function without the same kinds of problems that presumably underlay the need for some kind of change.

The phrase, "temporary truce point" should not be read as connoting stability in any sense of the term. It is simply a decisive political moment of conflict resolution (usually manifested in the form of a legislative act or administrative decisions). It may create a situation of peace, but on the other hand, it may leave a situation in which a "defeated" group or coalition begins to strive more or less immediately for "revenge" and a reversal of the relevant political decision, or in which a "victorious" group coalition tries to gain more. The "gyroscopic path" refers to trends that are set into motion by the arrangements solidified by the "temporary truce point"; this term, also does not imply any kind of long-term peace; in fact, any given moment of "truce" may set in motion a process whereby advantages accrue disproportionately to one or another group or coalition, and this perceived cumulative disadvantage may come to be defined as a "problem" (variables 1-2-3), and a subject for renewed articulation, mobilization, conflict, political maneuvering, and re-resolution. The model of change emerging from this characterization is one of constant turbulence, constant efforts to adapt and stabilize, the inevitably partial failure and partial success of these efforts, and the constant introjection of new problems into the system by internal trends within education and by omnipresent structural changes in other sectors of society.

Because the characterization of this process-model of change has been on the abstract side, it would perhaps be helpful to provide a couple of examples of how it is going to be applied to concrete historical processes. I shall indicate the example on each side of the Atlantic.

In 1839 the British government had come to a kind of "temporary truce point" with the Church of England on the basis of what was called a Concordat. Throughout the 1830s the government had been extending a modest kind of subsidization on a kind of "matching fund" basis to the National Society (Church of England) and the British and Foreign School Society (mainly Dissenters) to encourage the building of schools. Because the government was now in the business of expending public funds on the schooling system, the issue of accountability of those who had received the funds seemingly inevitably rose. This issue took two forms: first a concern with the quality of the teachers of the schools, which was almost universally regarded as hopelessly inferior; and second, the issue of inspection of schools, to see that some kind of minimum effectiveness of education was being realized. The government proposed the establishment of a number of government teacher-training colleges and a system of government inspectors. The Church bridled at these suggestions, saying that they both marked an unwelcome intrusion on the educational territory legitimately lying within the jurisdiction of the Church. After a prolonged period of bitter political conflict and negotiation, a Concordat was reached, whereby the government would subsidize teacher-training colleges established by the religious bodies themselves, and whereby the Church authorities would have veto power over the government appointment of inspectors (thereby virtually guaranteeing that Churchmen or those favorable to the Church would be named as inspectors). One little sub-conflict that ensued immediately is that the Dissenters objected to Church-approved inspectors coming to their schools, so after another brief season of conflict, the government assented to extending a similar veto power to the British and Foreign School

Society over a second category of inspectors to be named to inspect their schools exclusively.

This Concordat of 1839 settled matters temporarily, but in the meantime the years 1839 through 1844 were years of extreme political turbulence--these were the most active Chartist years--and correspondingly extreme anxiety on the part of the ruling classes, generating in them, among other things, the strongest desire to extend and strengthen the primary educational efforts, particularly in the manufacturing districts. The Whig government of Melbourne, between the years of 1839 and 1842, attempted to introduce a variety of pieces of legislation so extending the system, but contending religious forces, through the Conservative opposition, were successful in shooting down every effort, out of apprehension that these efforts would disadvantage the Church in its effort to hold the greatest numbers of children under its sway in the National Society's Schools. Then in 1843, when the conservative Peel government assumed power, Sir James Graham also attempted to introduce legislation which would extend schooling into the manufacturing districts (mainly Dissenters in composition). On this occasion, the legislation stipulated that the governance of these schools would lie predominantly in the hands of Anglican clergymen, and with this prospect in view the Nonconformists mobilized, jointly with the Wesleyan Methodists, a major campaign that was so formidable that the government withdrew such legislation.

It was in this state of political paralysis--combined with a perceived pressing need to expand the system--that the Committee of Council, under the leadership of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, conceived of the idea of attempting to expand the educational system within the same structure that had been established by prior legislation and the Concordat. This formulation was contained in the famous Minutes of 1846, in which it was proposed that the government would vastly increase its subsidy, to assist not only in the building of schools, but also in the paying of teachers, creating and paying a class of pupil-teachers (teen-age young people who served as assistants to the teachers), and paying for a variety of supplies and other facilities for the schools, but at the same time retaining the same kind of autonomy over the schooling itself by the religious bodies. Enactment of the Minutes of 1846 proved to be another critical "truce point" which permitted a vast expansion of the schools for more than a decade. But when public expense for the schools became a matter of public concern, and when the Committee of Council found itself saddled with an extraordinarily large, complex, and cumbersome bureaucracy to administer the Minutes, these developments themselves came to cause another set of problems and led to efforts to simplify and reduce the costs of the schools in the Revised Code of 1862, which itself constituted another "truce point," however unpopular it turned out to be.

The main ingredients of the model may be seen here. The years immediately following 1839 were years of very disturbing "situations and events" (1) (political protest of a menacing sort on the part of the working classes) that reflected a number of structural realities (economic hardship, the continuing disenfranchisement of the workers after the enfranchisement of the middle classes a decade earlier, and the crystallization of working-class consciousness)(2), both of which constituted an apparent threat to the traditional hierarchical order of the country (3). On this occasion the government itself articulated the threat in educational terms (4), and mobilized efforts to ascertain new ways to expand and make more effective the system (5). The conflicts that ensued, mainly among jealous (National Society) and aspiring (British and Foreign School Society) religious groups (6) rendered the political process (7) virtually paralyzed, until the government finally devised a scheme to innovate in virtually any way it could, namely to expand the system within the existing religious understandings, thereby enabling it to commit more resources and expand the system considerably within those understandings (8).

The second example concerns the 1840s as well. For quite a number of years the educational structure of New York City had been operating under a kind of subsidized philanthropic system, whereby the New York Public School Society received city funds and allocated them to the establishment of schools. The Society was minimally undenominational, but had been under the de facto leadership of Quakers and other Protestants. In the meantime, the period of urban-industrial development had begun in New York, and, in that connection, a sizeable population of Irish immigrants had settled in New York, and were given religious and political leadership by the clergy, especially Bishop Hughes of that diocese. The city was divided in its orientation, with the Protestant public leaders being stimulated by the threat of disorder and the importance of education, whereby the Catholic leadership was voicing opposition to the schools sponsored and overseen by the Public School Society on grounds that this was subsidized Protestant education (and should be matched by similar funds channeled through the Catholic Church) and that the content of the curriculum was favorable to the Protestant tradition and derogatory to the Catholic tradition. After a number of years of lively controversy, the situation became critical (from the Potestants' point of view) because the Irish Catholic political efforts resulted in the

the election of a number of representatives to the city government, with the accompanying threat of enacting local legislation favorable to the Catholic cause. In due course the conflict escalated to the level of the state legislature, and was inflamed by the stance of the Governor of the State, who called for public subsidization of Catholic schools. After a further period of political conflict and maneuvering both at the city and the state levels, the legislature finally established the district system in New York, in which education was to be secular and open to all creeds, but this was accompanied by a number of curricular reforms that tended to remove religious content from the schools. The law marked a defeat for the Catholics (who proceeded to turn more toward self-supported parochial schools) but also a defeat for the Public School Society, which was effectively displaced by the system of public financing and state organization, and which itself quietly dropped from the scene a few years later. The same general ingredients of the political process are in evidence in the New York example as in the English example, though it is apparent that the sequence from "identifying social problems" through to a "temporary truce point" was given a different stamp because of the different composition of groups, the different settings of group conflict, and the political structures through which the conflicts were carried through and mediated.

Sustaining an Educational Environment

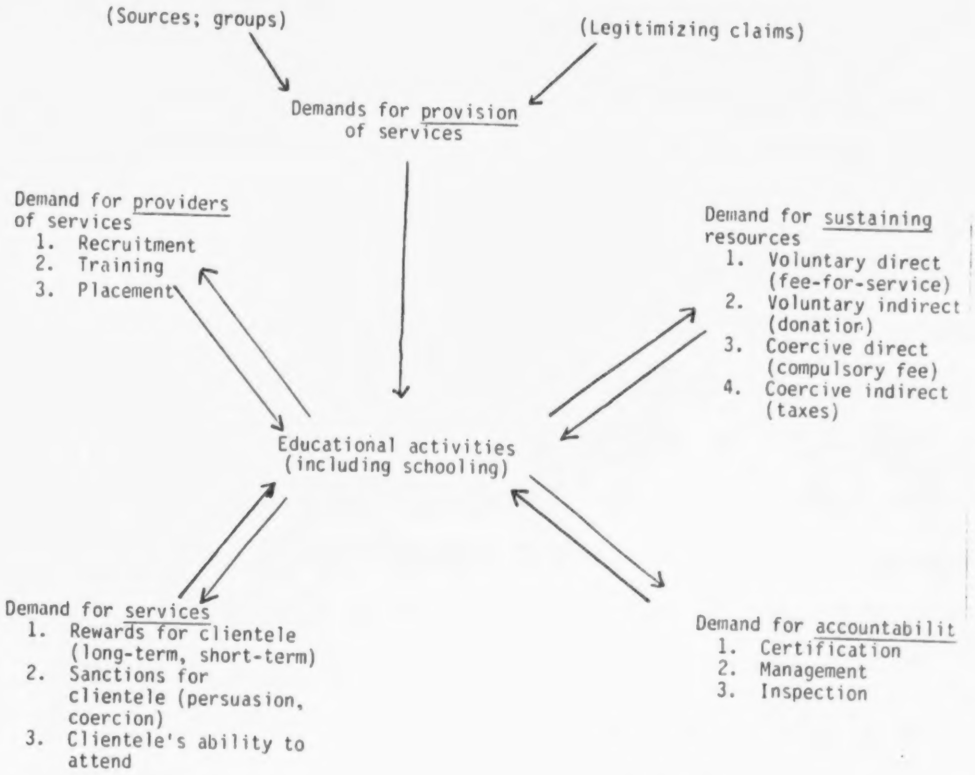
Early in this report a distinction was made between the complex of determinants that appear to be operative in fostering (or inhibiting) the development or establishment of a mass educational system at the primary level on the one hand, and the sustenance of that kind of system once it is developed. Most of the discussion thus far has had to do with the former range of concerns. Now we turn toward a brief characterization of the kinds of exigencies that face an educational establishment on an on-going, routine basis. (A reminder should be entered here that this distinction between the developing and sustaining is a very imperfect one, since many of the same classes of variables come to play in both processes. Nevertheless, the distinction between coming into being, when the legitimacy of the educational establishment is still at issue, and routine acceptance and functioning can be at least analytically distinguished.)

Chart III is a kind of schematic map of the exigencies facing a schooling system. In the remainder of this section I will elaborate the several kinds of "inputs" and "outputs" to the educational system that constitute its life-blood on the one hand and its presumed contributions to society on the other.

The first observation to be made is that educational systems, once established, are under a kind of on-going continuous demand to provide the kinds of services to their clientele (most notably, students, but also symbolically to community and society as a whole). This demand is typically enforced, if enforcement is necessary, by the state, and the state is buttressed both by the legitimate expectation that it will see to the provision of these services, and, if the system is well institutionalized, by groups that recognize that legitimacy, routinely expect those services to be delivered and complain if the system appears to be faltering or failing in their estimation. Above and beyond this extension of generalized demand (and support), the following exigencies are shown in Chart III:

Chart III

ENVIRONMENTS OF EDUCATION


(Sources; groups)
(Legitimizing claims)
Demands for provision of services
Demand for providers of services
1. Recruitment
2. Training
3. Placement
Demand for sustaining resources
1. Voluntary direct (fee-for-service)
2. Voluntary indirect (donation)
3. Coercive direct (compulsory fee)
4. Coercive indirect (taxes)
Educational activities (including schooling)
Demand for services
1. Rewards for clientele (long-term, short-term)
2. Sanctions for clientele (persuasion, coercion)
3. Clientele's ability to attend
Demand for accountabilit
1. Certification
2. Management
3. Inspection

(1) Under the heading of "demand for sustaining resources," the most concrete question involved is "who (and in what form) will pay for the costs of running the educational enterprise?" The question must be faced, for it is one of the ultimate necessary conditions for the survival of the enterprise. In order to facilitate comparative analysis, I have categorized the sources of support as "fee-for-service," which is a market device whereby the consumers will bear the cost of education by direct payment; voluntary-indirect, whereby part of the cost is sustained not by the clientele but by donors, philanthropists, and the like; coercive-direct, in which attendance at a school is required, and payment of a fee on the part of consumers is also required; and coercive-indirect, in which the public at large is taxed in some way, with proceeds being diverted by transfer payments to the educational institutions.

The British and American systems of primary education in the middle of the nineteenth century differed with respect to their different mixes of payments. In both societies education that was available for the middle and upper classes on a private basis was uniformly "fee-for-service" almost exclusively. The differences appeared in the contrast between schooling for the poor in England on the one hand, and the common public schools in the United States. Before the state entered in either country, the dominant mode in both was voluntary direct (through philanthropy) combined with small fees to help sustain the schoolmaster and his quarters. After the state entered the scene, however, the British continued to rely on private philanthropy to a great extent up to 1870 (with matching private funds channeled through the religious societies being a prerequisite for state support), whereas the American system had long since become public for the most part (local private and parochial schools being the exception, the former relying on fee-for-service and the second on fee-for-service combined with subsidization by the church--which in turn might have been a form of coercive-indirect, if the church required tithing or some other form of tax-like contribution), and was based almost exclusively on tax sources, with students' fees gradually disappearing from the scene. The most decisive differences between the two countries with respect to the period between, say, 1830 and 1860, is the source of taxation and the source of public support. In the United states both taxation and support tended to be decentralized (a mix of locality and state), and financing was equally decentralized. In Britain, by contrast, government financing was almost exclusively nationally centralized until late in the century, when local rates came to be applied to the financing of schools. Behind this contrast, of course, lay religion. Because the American pattern of separation of state and religion was already in place, American authorities could tax citizens locally without tying the use of the funds to any particular denomination (because the denominations were formally outside the schooling system), thereby reaping the wrath of families who did not want to send their children to a school not of their denomination. Not so in Britain. Up until 1870, religious groups were successfully able to resist supporting the schools for the poor out of the rates, on the grounds that they would not pay rates into religious schools that were based on instruction in a religion other than their own. It was only after the religious issue itself had reached a "truce point" in the legislation of 1870 (in which religious instruction was still required, but that instruction could not involve any special "formularies" of the Church or any other religion) that the issue of local support through rates could be solved and denominational objects at least partially overcome. The other observation to be made about the two systems is that as the state was gradually able to enforce compulsory attendance in the schools later in the century, the fee-for-service element tended to drop out of the financing structure altogether, on the very grounds that compulsory attendance removed the freedom of choice from parents of children, and they should not be forced to pay for something that was legally required of them.

(2) Under the heading of "demand for providers," I refer mainly to the supply of teachers, though ancillary personnel such as pupil-teachers and school administrators fall under this heading as well. The exigencies that face any educational system, once established are to secure an adequate supply of these providers of services through recruitment, training, and placement.

By virtue of the continued commitment to the principle of the extended isolation of the social classes from one another, the recruitment of teachers in Britain fell strictly along class lines, with masters in the elite public schools emanating from the public schools and universities, teachers of the middle-class schools having heterogeneous but definitely upper- or middle-class backgrounds, and teachers in the working-class schools coming from working-class backgrounds. In particular, the stream for the working-class schools was that highly promising children in the working-class schools were identified as masters, and, at the age of 13, recruited for a small stipend as pupil-teachers in the working-class schools,then given scholarships to attend one or more of the teacher-training colleges, which were state-supported, but which were also broken down along religious lines (National Society, British and Foreign School Society, Wesleyan Methodist, Catholic), then placed after certification into working-class schools. By contrast, the American system of teacher-training was in the early period (1830-1850) very helter-skelter, with a variety of avenues extending from self-education to attendance at one of a handful of training academies, with little or no certification. As the states began to become more interested in quality of schooling later in the century (an interest triggered by the fact that they had become more involved in the financing of the schools through state funds), more systematic interest was taken in the certification of teachers, and this took the form of establishing certified "normal schools" with state-dictated standards for training teachers.

One implication of these contrasting modes of teacher-training is that the British system operated in large part like an administered system (with numbers of pupil-teachers and numbers of teachers dictated by the level of government support of both categories), and the American system more nearly as a pure market system. Nevertheless, market forces impinged from time to time on the British system. In the 1850s and 1860s--and thereafter--more and more opportunities for boys as clerks and dispatchers in the transportation industry and in service positions in industry began to open. Wages in these positions soon outstripped the pay for pupil-teachers, precipitating a shortage of supply as well as a possible decline in quality among recruits to those positions. Also, in the 1860s, the numbers of schools and teachers actually shrank for a few years following the enactment of the "Revised Code" in 1862, thereby occasioning a surplus of teachers as the backlog of trainees in the teacher-training colleges (admitted on the premises of a constant or increasing demand) outstripped the number of positions available for a number of years. Market forces in both countries also pressed toward the feminization of the teacher role throughout the century, as substantial wage-differentials between men and women teachers led more and more managers and boards of trustees of schools to hire women in favor of men on grounds of economy.

In both Britain and the United States teachers experienced status anomalies. The British teacher was in an anomalous position because he or she was from a working-class background and inevitably recognized to be so, given the association of class with accent), but at the same time performed a kind of non-manual service that could not be called "working-class" and had a position of authority in the community that would appear to indicate some kind of middle-class status. Teachers aspired to this status, but others in the community--particularly clergymen--were motivated to maintain status distinctions between themselves and teachers, so that in the end the teachers experienced a kind of "in-between," socially isolated and ultimately frustrating experience. The long and unsuccessful struggle among some teachers to be admitted into the ranks of school inspectors (traditionally recruited from elite clergymen and other university graduates) symbolized their status-consciousness and status-striving. This anomalous position also may account in part for the fact that, once teachers began to organize into quasi-unions later in the century, they displayed a militancy that was not in evidence in many other countries. In the United States, too, teachers experienced status problems. Early in the century they appeared to be widely stigmatized as people who could not succeed in any other line of work, and even as the role of teacher came to be more nearly institutionalized, it was characterized by low pay, questionable status, and ambivalence (as connoted by the dubious term "school marm"). This phenomenon constitutes something of an historical irony in the United States, since education was given such a prominent place among reformers as a key social institution for the survival and prosperity of the Republic.

(3) Under the heading "demand for accountability," I refer to the universal consequence of public involvement (mainly through financing) in educational systems: an interest that schools and other supported institutions be responsible for spending the extended funds in a reasonable manner, and, by extension, an interest in the governance of those educational institutions. The British handled these sets of issues in a way that was traditionally familiar: by appointing inspectors who travelled the circuit, inspecting schools on an annual or sometimes more frequent basis (later actually examining children), and reporting on their status. In keeping with the status and religious preoccupations the inspectors were primarily high-status university graduates (Matthew Arnold was an inspector of schools for many years) and often clergymen, and the inspectors were also fragmented (like the schools) into categories such that they were subject to approval by various religious bodies and could inspect schools only of those denominations (Church of England, British and Foreign School Society, Wesleyan Methodist, Catholic, Scottish Presbyterian, Scottish Free Church); and, save for the National (Church of England) schools, were prohibited from evaluating religious instruction in the schools, that was argued to be the province of the religious leadership. In the end, the inspectors became a quite potent political force in the British educational system, as their reports and recommendations became the main source of reforms executed by the central administrative body, the Committee of Council. (A symptom of this political sig-

nificance appeared in the 1860s when Robert Lowe, the administrative head of the Department of Education, attempted to muzzle the character of the inspectors' reports and thereby prune their power.) The system of accountability in the United States was simultaneously more decentralized and more bureaucratic. Despite the fact that states introduced positions such as Superintendent of Public Instruction (and kindred positions), district discretion tended to remain paramount in most areas. Intrusion into the local scene never involved regular, on-site inspections, but rather took the form of enacting generalized rules concerning the certification of teachers, the linking of state support to attendance rates, auditing for financial accountability, and some fairly general curricular requirements, and some choice and mandating of textbooks in certain subjects. Most of the major political battles over most schools matters were carried out at the district level.

(4) Under the heading "demand for services" I refer mainly to the disposition of students and their families to attend schools at all, which in the early days of development of primary schooling, proved to be a very problematical issue, and continued to be so even when schools became a fixed part of the social scene in both countries. The picture was more difficult in Britain, for both economic and religious reasons. It has been explained that the wage packet for most British working-class families was a multiple wage-earner packet, and that families were motivated to send their children to work at the earliest possible moment in their young lives, which meant both very irregular attendance or complete withdrawal. That situation continued throughout the century. The inspectors of schools consistently regarded these twin evils of irregular attendance and early withdrawal as the bane of the schools' existence,

and they, as well as clergymen and political leaders spent much of their energy haranguing the poor for their pecuniary greed (in sending their children out to work so they could secure their wages), and in devising schemes to increase attendance, including rewards (prizes, remission of fees, capitation payments for schools on the basis of numbers of students and frequency of attendance) and punishments (moral haranguing early, ultimately leading to compulsion and truancy officers). The working classes, on their part, appeared by and large to value education, but only as much as they seemed to think necessary for their station; only when education became an avenue for mobility into the lower-level service occuations did the motive of long-term gain through education appear to materialize for the working-classes.

On the religious side, another chronic running sore in the educational system was the fact that schools were institutionalized along denominational lines, and while there was some "crossing" in the sense that parents would sometimes forego their religious preferences and send children to other denominations' schools in order to secure the rudiments of a secular education. Yet the fight over religious exclusiveness and religious exclusion continued to run, especially among spokesmen for the leadership of the various denominations. The most significant problem had to do with the National Schools of the Church of England, who continued to insist in the vast majority of cases that those pupils in attendance had to learn the catechism and had to go to a Church of England Sunday School on Sundays. Nonconformists and others balked at this practice on grounds of conscience, and at least some withheld their children. In fact, this point of religious tenderness, combined with economics, impelled the British system toward its ultimately more secular form of institutionalization. In the 1850s and 1860s in one small community after another--mainly in Nonconformist Wales and Nonconformist northern counties of England--petitioners of Nonconformist persuasion would approach the Committee of Council with an appeal to establish a Nonconformist school in their locality, on grounds that the only school there was a National School, and on grounds of conscience parents would not send their children to it. Under this pressure the Committee of council responded typically in two ways: first, it argued on economic grounds that the localities were not large enough to sustain two schools; and, second, it began pressuring the National Schools--sometimes as a condition for approval and financing--to introduce some kind of "conscience clause," whereby children of non-church faith could be excused from reciting the catechism and attending Church Sunday Schools. A stormy battle between Church and government went on through the 1850s and 1860s, with the Church ultimately submitting,albeit reluctantly; and the particular formula of the "conscience clause" was the key forerunner of the religious compromise of the 1870 legislation, whereby "no special formulary" was to be required of those children attending schools established by the state.

In many respects the United States escaped both the economic and religious obstacles to non-attendance: the first was achieved by arranging the school calendar in the rural areas so that attendance did not conflict with the planting and harvesting rhythms, in which children participated as laborers, and by establishing, from the beginning, formally secular schools which could not be objected to on grounds of faith (even though many had explicitly religious instruction of a general Protestant sort). Yet this escape was only partial, and eventually history caught up with the American establishment and created for it, in different form, some of the same problems that had plagued the British primary school system from the beginning. On the economic side, attendance problems began to be a problem as soon as the country moved into that urban and industrial phase (industries requiring the labor of the young) the problems of irregular attendance and early withdrawal became the object of reformers' attention. This problem was particularly in evidence among the immigrant minorities, whose pay package was also a multi-wage-earner matter in many instances, and who were more likely than the Anglo-Saxon "natives" to find the schools congenial to their ethnic and religious outlooks. The problems of non-attendance and early withdrawal for work increased late in the century, and one after one, states began falling in line with legislation that made attendance compulsory up to a certain age, and, later, forbade employment under a certain age (thus bringing the American arrangements into convergence with the British). The religious question never became as serious in the United States, for structural reasons already cited. But it was not absent. From an early date some ethnic minorities (mainly Germans) rebelled against the model of the uniform, secular, common schoolbecause it appeared to constitute a threat to their language and their national identity; in many cases their wishes had to be taken into account by granting local variations on the common model. The Catholic problem was more important. Catholic leaders in one community after another espoused the view that "public" schools were alien to Catholic education, either because they were secular or because they were in fact Protestant (sometimes both arguments were put forth simultaneously). Catholic groups exerted simultaneously to revise the teachings of the schools that they did not contain what they regarded as anti-Catholic material and to persuade local governments to subsidize Catholic schools with Catholic teachings from the public purse; the first brought some success but the second failed repeatedly, being shot down consistently on constitutional grounds having to do with the separation of state and religion. The ultimate fascination about the British and American experiences is that from the outset each system was established on fundamentally different premises with respect to the class, religious, and to some degree the economic environment; and despite the fact that through much of the nineteenth century both remained on the institutional tracks that had been laid out for them in the beginning, both also experienced pulls in the direction toward the other's model, pulls which reflected the class, religious-ethnic, and economic realities of the respective societies.

A CONCLLUDING NOTE

Such are the main lines of analysis that have guided (and arisen from) the theoretical and empirical research conducted during this project. The essay and supporting case studies are being developed into a book manuscript. Several articles and numerous speeches and addresses have arisen from the work conducted thus far, and these are to be found in Appendix C and Appendix D, respectively.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

Articles

1. "Biography, the Structure of Explanation, and the Evaluation of Theory in Sociology," written for the 1979 American Sociological Association Meetings. In Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. (ed.), *Sociological Theory and Resarch: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), pp. 23-30.
2. "The Victorian Family," in R.N. Rapoport, M.P. Fogarty, and R. Rapoport (eds.), *Families in Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), pp. 59-74.
3. "Evaluating the Model of Structural Differentiation in Relation to Educational Change in the Nineteenth Century," in Jeffery C. Alexander (ed.), *Neofunctinalism* (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications, forthcoming).

4. "The Professionalization of the Tacher Role in Nineteenth Century Britain: Implications for the Family," to be given at the 1985 American Sociological Association meetings, August 1985. [*Note*: Paper is now in the final stages of production and will be forwarded as soon as it is completed.]

Neil J. Smelser
University of California
Berkeley

APPENDIX D

Speeches and Presentations

Neil J. Smelser
University of California,
Berkeley

Neil J. Smelser
(1984-85)

Speeches and Presentations

"The Professionalization of the Teacher Role in Nineteenth Century Britain: Implications for the Family," to be presented in August 1985 at the American Sociological Association Meetings, Washington, D.C.

"The Persistence of Positivism in American Sociology," to be presented at the University of Dusseldorf, University of Cologne, University of Heidelberg, and the University of Munich, June 24-27, 1985.

Commentator and Discussant, Workshop on "The Impact of the Current Economic Crisis on the Social and Political Structure of Newly Industrializing Countries: The Case of Brazil," held in Sao Paulo, Brazil, February 25-March 1, 1985.

"Students in the 1990s," presented at the University of California, Santa Cruz, March 12, 1985.

"Critical Review" of paper by Franco Ferrarotti, "Civil Society and State Structures in Creative Tension: Ferguson, Hegel, Gramsci," presented at Ohio State University, Columbus, November 3, 1984.

Presider and Commentator, "How Is Social Order Possible?" 1984 American Sociological Association Meetings, San Antonio, Texas, August 30, 1984.

Organizer and Presenter, "The Ogburn Vision: Fifty Years Years Later," in the session entitled, "The Diffusion of Social Science Knowledge into the Social Fabric," American Sociological Association Meetings, San Antonio, Texas, August 29, 1984.

"Rethinking Educational 'Differentiation': Competition, Interest, and Cultural Specificity," presented at session "Neofunctionaism Mini-conference" at the American Sociological Association Meetings, San Antonio, Texas, August 31, 1984.

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Neil J. Smelser (1983-84)

"The Mass Media and Violence," symposium on Adolescent Behavior, Alta Bates Hospital, September 24, 1983

"The Ogburn Vision 50 Years Later," lecture delivered at a symposium sponsored by the Committee on Basic Research in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Washington, D.C., November 29, 1983.

Chair and organizer, conference on "Intellectual and Institutional Issues in Contemporary Psychiatry," sponsored by the Western Center of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, held at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California, December 2-3, 1983.

Chair and discussant, Session on "Adult Psychology and Intellectual History: Erik Erikson, Melanie Klein, and Wilfred Bion," Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, December 28, 1983.

Moderator and Discussant for a paper with Martin Wangh, "'On Narcissism' in a Changing World," Thirty-third International Congress of the International Psychoanalytic Association, Madrid, July 25, 1983.

"Mass Media and Violence," delivered to the Psychiatry staff at Cowell Memorial Hospital.

"Collective Myths and Fantasies," delivered at the Sociology Department at the University of California, San Diego.

"The Ogburn Vision Fifty Years Later," delivered at the annual meetings of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., May 1, 1984.

Participant, Conference on University-Industry Relations," Meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, May 19, 1984.

"The British and American Experience in Nineteenth-Century Primary Education," delivered to the Department of Sociology, University of California at Los Angeles, May 23, 1984.

"Contemporary Problems in American Higher Education," delivered at the School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, May 23, 1984.

"Students in the 1990s," delivered at a Universitywide conference of Student Affairs Officers, Asilomar, Pacific Grove, California, May 25, 1984.

"Depth Psychology and the Social Order," delivered at a conference sponsored jointly by the Theory Sections of the American Sociological Association and the German Sociological Association, Giessen, Germany, June 23, 1984.

Neil J. Smelser (1982-83)

"Opening Address," at the session of the Research Committee on Economy and Society, "Capitalist Economics and Societies: New Contradictions," at the 10th World Congress of the International Sociological Association, August 16, 1982.

Co-chair, Session on "Private and Public Entrepreneurship: New Forms and New Strategies," at the Tenth World Congress of the Internationl Sociological Association, August 17, 1982.

Panelist in the Plenary Session," The Present Status of Sociological Theory and Social Practice: A Summing-up of the Congress," at the Tenth World Congress of the International Sociological Association, August 20, 1982.

Discussant, featured session on "The Social Utility of Basic Research," Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, September 6, 1982.

Panelist, featured session on "Analyzing Collective Behavior and Social Movements," Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, September 8, 1982.

Presider and discussant, session on "History and Theory," Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, September 8, 1982.

Presider, "ASA Career of Distinguished Scholarship Award," Meetings of the American sociological Association, September 8, 1982.

"The Vanishing Family?", World Affairs Council, San Francisco, November 9, 1982.

"The Mind of Talcott Parsons," Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, November 5, 1982.

"Collective Myths and Fantasies," Yale Club, San Francisco, March 2, 1983.

"Cultural and Personal Dimension of Education Abroad," delivered at the 20th Anniversay Program of the UC Education Abroad Program, Charter Day ceremonies, Santa Barbara campus, April 15, 1983.

"The Academic Senate," talk given to the staff of the Psychiatry Department of the Student Health Services and the Counselling Center, April 27, 1983.

"The British and American Experience in Nineteenth-Century Primary Education," Symposium, Department of History, Berkeley Campus, May 25, 1983.

"The British and American Experience of Nineteenth-Century Primary Education," talk given to the Kosmos Club, June 6, 1983.

SMELSER, Neil J. (1981-82)

"Problems in Action Theory with Respect to Social Change," Meetings, American Sociological Association, Montreal, August 26, 1981.

Panelist, "The future of Sociology," Meetings, Pacific Sociological Association, April 22, 1982, San Diego.

"Class, Religion, and Region in Welsh Educational Development in the Nineteenth Century," UC Berkeley, Department of Sociology, May 6, 1982.

"The Vanishing Parent," Conversation with A.H. Halsey, BBC, London, December 1981.

"Class, Religion, and Economy in Nineteenth-Century Primary Education," Symposium, Oxford University, December 4, 1981.

Moderator, Session on the U.S., Western Europe, and the Nuclear Arms Issue, Universitywide Conference on Arms Limitation, March 31, 1982.

Neil J. Smelser, 1979-80

1. Invited lectures, papers at meetings and similar activities.

Panelist, Session on "Issues in the Profession: Problems of Departmental Organization," Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, August 28, 1979.

Speaker on the topic of "The Relations Between Theory and Research in Historical Analysis," in Plenary Session II: The Relationship Between Theory and Research, Annual Meetings, American Sociological Association, Boston, August 28, 1979.

Presenter, paper on "New Thoughts on Structural Differentiation," Roundtable Discussion on Theoretical Sociology, Annual Meetings, American Sociological Association, Boston, August 29, 1979.

Lecture, "Recent Changes in Key American Institutions and a Look at the Future," Executive Program, School of Business Administration, Berkeley Campus, October 15, 1979.

Participant in Panel, "Recent Developments in Education Abroad Programs," Education Abroad Program Staff, University of California, Santa Barbara, October 5, 1979.

Lecture, "Academic Culture in British Institutions of Higher Learning," Center for the Study of Higher Education, Berkeley Campus, November 8, 1979.

Panelist, "California as an Advanced Technological Society: Interpretations from the Social Sciences and Humanities," Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, San Francisco, January 9, 1980.

Lecture, "Disguised Psychotherapeutic Processes for Students Abroad," Group in Psychoanalysis, Berkeley Campus, January 15, 1980.

Lecture, "Disguised Psychotherapeutic Processes for Students Abroad," Psychiatric Staff of Cowell Hospital, Berkeley Campus, February 27, 1980.

Lecture, "The Structure of Argumentation in Public Policy Debates," Amos Hawley Lecture, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 25, 1980.

Plenary Address, "The Structure of Argumentation in Public Policy Debates," Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, March 27, 1980.

Panelist, Symposium on "The Angry, Anti-Social Child--Social, Developmental, and Treatment Issues," sponsored by the McAuley Neuropsychiatric Institute, St. Mary's Hospital, San Francisco, March 7, 1980.

Plenary Address, "Collective Myths and Fantasies," Annual Meetings of the American Psychoanalytic Association, San Francisco, May 3, 1980.

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APPENDIX E

Final Budgetary-Financial Report

Neil J. Smelser
University of California
Berkeley

Neil Smelser NIE Grant (79/80 to 80/81)

Year one	Allocated	Expended	Balance
Salaries	26,935.75	26,935.75	-0-
Employee Benefits	2,341.10	2,340.05	1.05
Supplies & Expense	1,151.13	1,152.18	-1.05
Subtotal	30,427.98	30,427.98	-0-
Overhead	9,432.67	9,432.67	-0-
Total	39,860.65	39,860.65	-0-

Year two	Allocated	Expended	Balance
Salaries	64,063.15	69,756.37	-5,693.22
Employee Benefits	14,061.90	9,764.63	4,297.27
Supplies & Expense	1,881.87	1,825.92	55.95
Travel	5,117.00	3,777.00	1,340.00
Subtotal	85,123.92	85,123.92	-0-
Overhead	26,388.43	26,388.43	-0-
Total	111,512.35	111,512.35	-0-

GRAND TOTAL	151,373.00	151,373.00	-0-